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THE SOCIAL NATURE OF FASCISM

M. ERCOLI

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THE ANTI-HITLER FORCES WILL KEEP GROWING!

HITLER'S war in the west which preceded his perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R. did not bring him victory. His blitzkrieg stake was beaten. Individual blitz operations brought only a prolonged and drawn-out war.

Relatively weak on the seas, fascist Germany could not break the stubborn resistance of England, the world's greatest sea power. Every fresh victory scored by fascist Germany on the continent made it even more obvious that the disproportion between Britain and Hitler Germany's sea forces was blocking Hitler's last road to world domination. Hitler's war against England has reached a stalemate. Hitler was faced with the perspective of a drawn-out war which would make all his conquests in Europe unstable, increase his difficulties at home, intensify Germany's international isolation and thus threaten to bring his whole predatory attack to collapse.

Having failed to win the Battle of Britain, Hitler tried to find a way out of the *cul de sac* into which he had dragged Germany by plunging her into a war against the Soviet Union—his latest and most criminal adventure. The idea in the mind of that fascist monster Hitler was that a war against the U.S.S.R. would serve as his chief means of overcoming the tremendous difficulties which fascist Germany faced as a result of the war dragging on. By looting the U.S.S.R., the fascist thugs hoped to procure the strategic raw materials, oil and grain necessary to see them through their war with Britain and help them to prepare an attack on the U.S.A.

But the rapacious war against the U.S.S.R. did not ease Hitler's position; it only threw things into hopeless confusion. This war of plunder against the U.S.S.R. will spell his doom. This war against the U.S.S.R., started by Hitler as an important transitory stage in his madman plans for world domination, has brought death to new millions of fascist soldiers. Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R. marks the turning point for fascist Germany, but not the kind of turning point the gang of Nazi chieftains would like to see. For Hitler Germany a war against the U.S.S.R. marks a turn toward exhaustion of her forces and a steady depletion of her resources. It is a turn from the temporary growth of the Reich's war potential achieved by means of easy victories to a lowering and continuous reduction of her life reserves and war potentialities. It is a turn from temporary tactical advantages won by Hitler to a final strategic routing and defeat.

History shows that a long war is always won by the side whose forces grow in the course of the war, and is lost by the side that is not in a position to make good the losses inflicted by the adversary, that is, unable to find new industrial, raw material and food sources, and enlist the support of powerful allies—in other words, is unable to secure a continuous growth of its material and manpower forces so as to have decisive superiority over the enemy. Napoleon was defeated, in the final analysis, for the simple reason that his forces were diminishing while the resistance of nations and primarily the resistance of the Russian people had brought into movement such colossal material and moral political forces as greatly surpassed his rapidly dwindling resources.

Like Hitler, Napoleon had gained control over a considerable part of Europe. In addition to France he held Belgium, Holland, Germany, Italy, Spain and the principaltiy of Warsaw in his hands. Napoleon, too, organized a continental blockade against Britain. But Britain, relying on her powerful fleet, on her superior industry and on the resistance put up by the nations enslaved by Napoleon, retaliated with a successful counter-blockade, pierced Napoleon's continental blockade and cut him off from overseas supplies. Napoleon was thus gripped in the vise of his own blockade. The superiority of his opponents, resting as it did primarily on the powerful resistance of the Russian people and its armies, predetermined Napoleon's immanent defeat.

But the most recent and graphic example is that of the World War of 1914-18. We know that the basic reason for Germany's defeat was the complete exhaustion of her own reserves and those of her ally Austria-Hungary toward the close of the war. In the last two years of the war Germany was no longer in a position to dispatch a requisite number of men to the front, nor was she able to supply her armies with even the minimum of war material. The acute shortage of non-ferrous metals, cotton and rubber forced Germany to use substitute materials on a large scale and this could not but greatly affect the quality. The oil shortage restricted the scope of German military operations and was detrimental to the outcome of battles.

Germany had nothing to oppose to that new powerful weapon, the tank, which the Allied Powers had placed on the front and which American, British and French factories were turning out in what for those days were large numbers.

Germany and Austria-Hungary were gripped by a terrible food shortage, which inevitably led to a drastic fall in their armies' fighting efficiency, and very tellingly and rapidly undermined their resistance power. Yet, at the same time, England, France and particularly the U.S.A., which came into the war in April, 1917, possessed vast resources and were able to train and put into the field fresh reserves. That explains why they emerged victorious.

There can be no doubt that in the present war victory will be with the side which brings into action

ever-increasing and superior material, manpower, and moral and political force.

The analysis of the forces at the disposal of both sides, the analysis of their possibilities, growth and accumulation, reveals that Hitler Germany is at a disadvantage with regard to these factors, which are decisive for the outcome of the war. Notwithstanding her temporary success, achieved by her perfidious and sudden attack on the U.S.S.R., the general tendency of the development is anything but an optimistic one for Hitler Germany. Her reserves of manpower for replenishing the armies at the front are limited. Even now Germany cannot provide new reserves without upsetting the functioning of her economic apparatus. Hitler is unable to mobilize men in the enslaved countries.

The shot fired by Paul Collette in France shows what bad results are obtained by the miserable attempts to recruit even a few hundred mercenaries to parade as "volunteers." Hitler's so-called allies provide him with armies only under pressure of direct threats. Moreover, the men in their "allied" armies do not evince any great desire to fight in a war against the Soviet Union. They know that this war is Hitler's war and that their countries have much to lose and nothing to gain from it.

The growing fatigue which comes with a prolonged war will have an increasing and adverse effect on the fighting efficiency of the German soldier. The Soviet Union is making thorough preparations for its first war winter, while Hitler Germany contemplates its third war winter with horror. Crack Nazi divisions, made up of picked cutthroats, are being annihilated one after the other in hard-fought battles against the Soviet Army. The rank-and-file German who is called to replace them and who hasn't yet acquired the experience of a criminal in the Hitler gang, and must lay down his head for Hitler, is tormented by endless doubts. He doesn't know why he must give his life in this war. All of this cannot but result in weakening the striking power of fascism's technical troops.

The Soviet Union manpower reserves are inexhaustible; the U.S.S.R. has over double the population of Germany. So far it has called far fewer categories to the colors than Nazi Germany. At the same time, Hitler Germany is suffering much heavier losses at the front than the Red Army. Nor is the Red Army alone in its battle against the fascist hordes. Fighting shoulder to shoulder with it are numerous regiments of popular guards and intrepid Soviet partisans who operate behind the enemy lines. The Soviet Union's armed forces receive active support and every possible assistance from the entire population. The moral and political unity of the Soviet people, united as it is around its government, is cemented by the realization of the fact that the Soviet people is defending its own native soil, its great socialist country. Hitler has never been faced—nor could he be faced—with such a patriotic war of all the people, in which every citizen of the Soviet Union, 200,000,000 population, re-

gards himself a fighter for the common cause.

Supplying the Nazi Army is becoming an ever more difficult problem. Even the fascist press is constrained to admit that Hitler's army finds practically nothing in the captured regions of the Soviet Union, for the population destroys all supplies that could be of use to the fascists in the war. The German communication lines are stretched out over tremendous distances and are very vulnerable to attacks by the Soviet guerrilla detachments, which blow up railway lines, attack transports and destroy roads. The fascist high command is forced to devote ever increasing numbers of its troops to protect the rear communications and is thus more and more scattering its forces. This lengthening of the Nazi communication lines increases the expenditure of oil, one of Germany's most short-stocked commodities.

The Red Army's communications are maintained and guarded by the whole population, which voluntarily and self-sacrificingly helps in their repair and restoration.

Even official German sources admit that since the outbreak of the war against the Soviet Union less food supplies have been available for the German population. Meat and fat rations have been cut. This year's harvest is below last year's and, notwithstanding the assertions of the fascist press, this is a result not so much of unfavorable climatic conditions as of a shortage of labor power and fertilizers, worse cultivation and dissatisfaction among the peasantry caused by the Nazi compulsory measures. The occupied countries, which serve Germany as additional supply sources, are yielding less and less food. Yugoslavia, which prior to Hitler's attack fed some 10,000,000 Germans, is exhausted by the war. Her harvest this year is far below the average. Guerrilla warfare, which is so widespread in the country, considerably lessens the possibility of pumping food from Yugoslavia. Italy, Hungary and Rumania are now all belligerents and the factors which make for curtailment of the agricultural output in Germany are operating in an aggravated form.

Finland is starving. The wholesale slaughter of cattle by the fascists in occupied France, Belgium, Holland and Denmark is already beginning to tell on the meat and fat balance of Hitler Germany. Add to this that Germany, even prior to the war of 1939, experienced a food shortage and a shortage in manufactured articles and it will become clear how grave is the food situation in the Reich.

In the Soviet Union the collective farm system opened up tremendous possibilities for food supplies. Large-scale mechanized farming such as is employed on collective farms permits of effective economy of labor power. In Germany, a country of high technical development, the use of tractors, harvester combines and other farming machinery is limited not only by the private nature of agriculture but also by the lack of fuel, all of which are required for military purposes. Unlike Germany, the U.S.S.R. has achieved a record harvest this year.

All of this is proof of the fact that, despite the loss of certain territory, the Soviet Union will be far better supplied with food than Germany. Aid which Hitler can receive from abroad, from countries not under his control, is practically nil. The blockade ring around Germany and the occupied countries is tightly closed. All outlets to overseas countries are blocked. The system of patrols and convoys in the Atlantic set up by the United States bids fair to reduce to naught the effectiveness of Germany's counter-blockade against Britain.

President Roosevelt's orders to commanders of American ships to shoot without warning at any German submarines or raiders will facilitate further the curtailment of the German counter-blockade.

The occupied countries have been fleeced of their last by fascist Germany and can hardly provide her with any of the supplies she requires. Besides, none of these countries produces chromite, wolframite, molybdenum or cotton. Nor do Germany's "allies" possess these materials. Only Rumania can supply a certain amount of oil, but this is absolutely inadequate to meet the requirements of the German Army. In most cases, however, the "allies" themselves stand in need of Germany's aid, let alone supplying the German Army.

The Soviet Union produces most of the essential strategic raw materials. In addition, the Soviet Union receives aid not only from Great Britain but from the U.S.A. as well. Some idea of the possible scope of this aid may be gained from the fact that the U.S.A. alone accounts for 50 per cent of the industrial output of all capitalist countries. It produces three times more steel and twenty-two times more oil than Germany together with her "allies" and vassal states. Great Britain holds the world monopoly in the output of rubber and several other strategic raw materials.

Goebbels is working his propaganda machine full blast in an attempt to convince the world that Hitler Germany's strong point is the possibility of utilizing the industrial output of occupied Europe. To be sure, part of the industries of France, Belgium and Holland have been made by Hitler to work for his robber war, and Czechoslovakian munition mills are manufacturing war supplies for him. But as the war drags out and as the heroic Red Army's blows against the fascist troops become more crushing, the greater become the difficulties facing Hitler and the lesser become his opportunities to rob the industries in occupied countries. Even today we see a rapid decline in the labor productivity there and this process cannot but increase as time goes on.

The degree to which Hitler can utilize the productive apparatus of the enslaved countries for his war effort depends not only on the production capacities and technical equipment. It is primarily a political question. The machines are operated by workers and these workers are conscious of the fact that they are being forced to work for one who is their bitter enemy. The growing resistance of the peo-

ple in the countries enslaved by Hitler tends to reduce and will continue to reduce the labor productivity of the workers in these countries. Cases of outright sabotage are multiplying, more military depots are being burnt, and more factories blown up.

A tremendous part in this struggle of the workers against the occupation forces is played by the Go-Slow movement, by deliberate worsening of the quality and increasing the percentage of damaged goods. Besides, labor productivity is strongly affected by food supplies, which are becoming worse from day to day.

Starvation throughout Europe, which now faces its third winter of war, is bound to increase. There can be no doubt that the fascist bandits will continue to loot the occupied countries with even greater ferocity, robbing the population of their last stitch. This in turn cannot but increase the resistance of the people and facilitate further the decrease in labor productivity both in industry and agriculture.

Industry in the occupied countries is bound to curtail output as a result of the growing shortage of important raw materials and fuel, and dislocation of transport resulting from this. Ceaseless air-raids on industrial objectives which serve Hitler's Army also tend to cut the output. Most of these factors will influence—they already do influence—the situation in Germany by lowering the rate of war production. War materials which Germany accumulated before the war have for the most part been used up. New war materials prepared with the use of *Ersatz* are of inferior quality.

Germany's productive apparatus has been operating under great tension for several years prior to the outbreak of the war in 1939. There has been practically no overhauling, no replacing of obsolete machinery. In the first two years of the war capital repairs and replacements of worn-out machines were carried out on a very restricted scale, for Hitler was reckoning on a Blitzkrieg and he wanted to produce the maximum in the minimum time. The wear-out rate of industrial machinery is therefore very high.

Nor is it less in transport services, particularly on the railways, which for over two years now have been operating under the super-tension of wartime.

The Nazi's colossal losses in the war against the Soviet Union compel the German Command to dispatch ever greater numbers of skilled workers to the front to make up for the losses in military and technical personnel. At the same time an unprecedented expenditure of war materials, tanks, aircraft, guns, ammunition and so on, requires larger numbers of workers in industry to supply the front. Fascist Germany already experiences an acute dearth of labor power, especially skilled labor. Much the same is the situation in agriculture. Forced labor of foreign workers, of whom there are now 3,500,000 in Germany, can only somewhat mitigate but by no means overcome this sharp crisis. Germany's sources of this additional labor power are

limited. The productivity of the workers who are forcibly brought into Germany is extremely low. Hitler Germany's crisis in this sphere will, as was the case in the war of 1914-18, grow more and more acute.

A radically different picture is presented by the Soviet Union. The labor productivity in the U.S.S.R. has not been reduced by the war. The Soviet people is engaged in a just, sacred and patriotic war. It knows what it is fighting for. The people's great patriotic enthusiasm is the source of an unparalleled growth of labor productivity. Every citizen in the Soviet Union, young and old, is imbued with the realization that this is a war in which the fate of his country, his people and his home is at stake, that the issue is one of the life and liberty of the coming generations. This realization inspires the Soviet people to great deeds in their work. It inspires constructive thought of Soviet inventors, who design new types of powerful weapons. It enhances the organizing abilities of Soviet business leaders, of factory directors, shop foremen, rationalizers, miners, oil workers, railwaymen and water transport workers. A mighty wave of labor enthusiasm swept the vast country from the very first moment of Hitler's perfidious attack on the U.S.S.R.

Faced with the grave peril which hovers over their country, this enthusiasm of the Soviet people is performing miracles. In the factories and mills of the country's heroic cities—Leningrad and Moscow, courageously repelling the onslaught of the enemy—labor productivity of the Soviet patriots surpasses all technical quotas and makes for new and unprecedented records. Germany's fascist rulers could never even dream of such an increase in labor productivity and such sincere labor enthusiasm. The curve of labor productivity of the Soviet Union and that of fascist Germany are stretching in different directions: in Germany it is a dropping curve, in the U.S.S.R.—a steeply rising curve.

The Soviet Union's tremendous reserves of raw materials are in essence untouched. Fascist Germany is in its third year of war; the U.S.S.R. has been fighting only three months. Despite the fact that the fascist armies have managed to seize individual bases of raw materials, the enemy has been unable and will be unable in the future to lay his hands on the country's mineral resources and basic industrial centers. These are scattered over the vast territory of the Soviet Union. It was the brilliant foresight of Stalin that enabled the Soviet people to set up powerful industrial bases in the heart of their huge country. Stalin's Five-Year Plans have transformed what were formerly desolate territories in the east into centers of iron, coal and oil industries. Far away from the borders there have sprung up as if from the very ground, factories producing intricate machinery and war materials. The nerve of modern war—oil—is in the hands of the Soviet Union, while fascist Germany is faced with a steadily growing oil shortage.

Deep behind the lines, in districts inaccessible to the enemy, the Soviet people have tremendous possibilities for production. Their unswerving will to victory, their fighting spirit and organizing talent, are all guarantees that these potentialities will be used to the full in crushing fascism.

As long as Hitler scored easy victories he could still enlist "allies" by bringing pressure to bear on the rulers of individual countries who were intimidated by the might of Hitler's war machine and hoped to get a share in his war booty. But when Hitler came up against the stiff resistance of the Red Army, his position changed radically: not only has the time when allies could be "recruited" passed, but in the very camp of his old "allies" a deep cleavage has come to the surface. And as it becomes clear that the war will drag out and fascist Germany's difficulties in it will increase, the picture of Hitler's "allies" falling away from him will become more distinct, for they will try to save what still can be saved from the oncoming collapse.

On the other hand, opportunities to utilize his agents in occupied countries will become very much less. Even today it is perfectly clear that Hitler's agents in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Yugoslavia and other countries, all these Lavals, Deats, Mussets, Quislings and Paveliches, have suffered shameful bankruptcy. Far from helping them to extend their influence over the masses, the support of German bayonets has actaully accelerated their final exposure as paid agents of foreign imperialism and as detestable traitors to their nation. Hence Hitler is isolated on the international arena. This isolation can only grow as the war progresses. Germany's fascist armies and occupation authorities are surrounded by the fierce hatred of peoples who with every passing day are strengthening their struggle against Hitler's yoke. Never before in history has any country evoked such burning hatred throughout the world as Hitler Germany does today.

The Soviet Union is not alone in its war against Hitler Germany. The U.S.S.R., which is today repelling the main blows against Hitler's hordes, has entered into a military agreement with Great Britain. The relations between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S.A. have become closer. The entrance of the Soviet and British troops into Iran has obviated the danger of that country becoming a base for fascist Germany's operations and has enhanced the strategic and political positions both of the Soviet Union and Great Britain. This cannot but be reflected in the policy of other countries.

The epic struggle of the Soviet people against Hitlerism, that mortal foe of mankind, a struggle filled with self-sacrifice and heroism, evokes among the peoples of the world a supreme feeling of solidarity with the U.S.S.R. All Slav peoples are rallying around their older brother, the great Russian people. Nations oppressed by Hitler derive fresh strength for their fight against the invaders from the inspiring example of the Soviet peo-

ple. Thus, not only in the economic but in the political sphere as well, the forces of the U.S.S.R. and of the world anti-Hitler front are on the upgrade, they are continuously growing. "The united front of nations that stand for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's armies" envisaged by Stalin at the very outset of the Soviet people's patriotic war, is becoming an ever more real and effective force, which the insolent fascist bandits will soon feel much more tellingly than now.

Despite Hitler's temporary military advantage, all the decisive factors in this protracted war are on the side of the Soviet people and the anti-Hitler front. But the Soviet people know that this struggle is an exceptionally difficult one, that it entails grave sacrifices and demands exertion of all forces if the enemy is to be crushed.

The men of the Red Army, Soviet Partisans, Soviet workers, collective farmers and intellectuals, women and the young generation know that victory does not come of itself, that it must be won in stubborn battle. This is taught by the great Stalin and it is particularly important to recall this today when the Soviet Union is faced by such a brutal and insidious foe as German fascism. Victory demands tireless and tenacious struggle—it is this irrefutable truth that the peoples of Europe enslaved by Hitler, the people of America, over whose liberty and independence the sword of Hitlerism is raised, are learning more and more. Armed with this knowledge and led by Stalin's genius and Stalin's will, the Soviet people will be victorious. And together with them the peoples the world over will win their victory.

ABOUT THE SOCIAL NATURE OF FASCISM

BY M. ERCOLI

HOW did fascism come to power in Germany and Italy? The answer to this question in great part contains the solution to the problem of the social nature of fascism.

Before Hitler and Mussolini came to power there existed in both countries a fascist movement which, particularly in Germany, attained even a mass character. In the great majority these were made up of the dregs of all social classes, the dregs of capitalist society in which the imperialist war of 1914-1918 and the successive economic crises had accumulated seeds of decomposition. These included ruined aristocrats, demobilized officers who had never known the meaning of work and had no inclination to do so, declassed petty-bourgeois in search of easy money and speedy fortune, workers torn from the industrial process by unemployment, vagabonds, highway robbers, blackmailers, bankrupts, murderers, degenerates, spies and swindlers.

In Italy, on the eve of Mussolini's march on Rome, a certain general, when told that these bands of adventurers were preparing to seize power, spat on the floor and exclaimed, "Give me authority to shoot for five minutes and this mob will be finished with." It was not this mob that was decisive. It was the indispensable instrument for creating an atmosphere of civil war and terror by paralyzing the operations of democratic institutions and political parties, by murdering the heads of workers' unions, by assassinating secretaries of cooperative societies and stealing cooperative funds, by setting fire to clubhouses and by smashing the entire democratic and social movement of the working people.

Behind the scenes, in the shade, those who held the strings of the fascist movement, those who fed it with their subsidies, who paid the murderers, incendiaries and assassins and who profited from their crimes, were the greediest and most reactionary elements of society in the process of decomposition, a handful of rulers, trusts, combines and banks—elements and at the same time creators of the decomposition of the capitalist regime.

Germany and Italy, countries where capitalism has reached its last phase, differ profoundly in this economic development and their structure. But they have one element in common. That is the existence at the apex of German and Italian society of parasitic groups who live from the most ferocious exploitation of labor and whose reactionary, narrow-minded outlook—closed to

all ideas of political and social progress—has always stood in the way of all progressive advance in the two countries. These are Prussian Junkers, accustomed to plundering the state budget for their own account; big landed proprietors of Italy, who for dozens of years already have muzzled the peasants during the grape harvests; Krupps and other magnates of heavy industry, who live on war and state subsidies; the bankers, linked up with this parasitic industry; the big shareholders of the monopolistic trusts; the special tools who thrive on corruption. Fascism is a regime of these social groups.

It was under pressure from them that Marshal Hindenburg called to power an Austrian corporal, an ex-Reichswehr spy, who had become chief of the Nazi gangs; it was by their will that Mussolini was enabled to become the Chief of State by a simple journey in a Pullman car. The aim pursued by these groups in placing fascism in power was clear. Above all, they were anxious to lay their hands as quickly as possible on all of the country's riches. To bring this about they had to crush the people, deprive them of their rights and enslave them. Fascist gangs were at hand with their bludgeons and their revolvers, ready for such work. In addition they wanted to make use of all of the nation's resources in order to prepare a series of acts of aggression and international brigandage, to let loose a series of wars of conquest directed against peoples of other countries. Plunder and pillage, violence and brutality after their triumph within the country, were to become the law of international relationships.

The lever is always the same: thirst of the most rapacious, most chauvinistic groups in society for boundless, speedy and easy gain. It is their greed that urges these groups continually on to extend the sphere of their criminal actions, to subject to their tyranny ever new millions of people, new productive forces, new markets; to impose the yoke of their despotic power on entire countries and continents. To the extent that they develop and concentrate in their hands an increasingly important part of the national production, the parasitic and decaying elements of German capitalism intensify their aggression. They are the authors of plans for unrestrained imperialist expansion.

German-speaking countries no longer satisfy them. They covet all neighboring countries. They need the whole of Europe, which they would like to transform into an enormous stretch of colonial territory. To enable this nightmare to come to pass, countries which have already reached a high degree of civilization have to be forced backward, to be "agrarianized," subjected to and exploited by the swollen industrial monopolistic machine, by trusts, concerns and banks which are to supply the reactionary oligarchy with ever growing profits.

Based on colonized and enslaved Europe, this oligarchy intends to move toward the establishment of its hegemony over the entire world. The liberty and independence of

people, states and national culture —the historic result of age-old development—the aspirations of the working people for social progress—all that stands in the way of the realization of these plans of plunder, have to be destroyed. All means are good for the achievement of this aim. All that in the past constituted the lever of progress—perfection of technique, capacity for organization, etc.—is utilized as an instrument of oppression and destruction, of crime and death. It is evident that the regime that sets itself this aim cannot tolerate any liberty or even any remnant of democratic institutions that enable the masses of people to defend their interests, to express their opinions, to participate in any way in the political life of the country.

The reactionary offensive which fascism at the outset directs against the working people grows fiercer consequently and subsequently, and is aimed at smashing all that can represent any form whatsoever of control by the people over the acts of a tyrannical government. Parliament, political parties, even the most limited political rights, mass organizations of whatever kind, even purely cultural and non-political organizations, as long as they are based on the principle of liberty, have to disappear. Political problems raised by any opposition of the masses engaged in defending their vital interests are solved by cutting the throats of the leaders of this opposition. If you denounce the crime committed against the people by the ruling clique you are killed. If you utter a cry of alarm against the theft of public funds a truncheon blow will reduce you to silence. Whether you are a liberal or a Socialist, a Catholic or a Communist, a conservative or a democrat, is of little importance. For the mere fact that you represent a party of popular opinion and that you oppose the tyranny of the rapacious moneybags, your fate is decided.

Discussions are finished with; it is brute force in the service of a clique of exploiters, it is naked violence that decides.

The enormous state machine, built up and functioning with the cruelty and precision of an infernal machine, and penetrating all the pores of society, subjecting to its control factory and office, church and army, family and leisure hours of private life, is made an instrument in this daily incessant violence which ends by killing all the independent action of the masses and of the social body in general.

After the crowd of declassed elements and criminals of the dregs of all the social classes had served as the shock troops for these acts of provocation, for the crimes and civil war of the first days, they received their posts within this system. They did not demand power; all they claimed was to be admitted to the plundering of public funds and to a division of the profits wrung from the increased exploitation of the masses, to play a part in the orgy of violence and corruption. The appetites of these gangs have been satisfied in both Germany and Italy.

Before Mussolini seized power he was a journalist who lived on sub-

sidies from foreign embassies; Goering begged alms from the captains of industry of the Ruhr with which to pay his debts. Today Mussolini is one of the biggest shareholders in the heavy industry of Italy; the holdings of his family in the biggest munitions trusts amount to more than 1,000,000,000 lire. Goering, by plundering the German people and the countries occupied by German forces, has become one of the biggest capitalists in Europe.

We are dealing with a phenomenon which is to be met with on a vast scale. Hundreds of ruined aristocrats, briefless lawyers, jobless adventurers, journalists without readers, have been admitted into the governing councils of banks and trusts, have seized hold of a big part of the capital, running in Germany into several billions of marks, of expropriated Jewish undertakings.

Thousands of this type of individual have laid their hands on the organs of public administration and communal services. At the apex of the economic and political life of the country they have enthroned corruption, debauchery, and a complete absence of scruples, a fact which does not alter in any way the social character of the tyranny of the most reactionary groups of capitalist society.

These gangster morals are not a source of repugnance to capitalism in decay. On the contrary, they fit in perfectly with it. Under cover of these morals, turned into a system of government, the profits of the big financiers who subsidized fascism and opened to it the gates of power can increase without limit.

Before they seized power the fascist chiefs, with a view to winning adherents and getting a hearing among the people, made exaggerated utterances against capitalism. They denounced the "slavery of usury," the despotism of the trusts and banks, and pretended to be concerned with the interests of the masses. This has no relation to the policy which they carry through once they attain power, and which is directed entirely toward maintaining and reinforcing the most brutal forms of exploitation. But their former demagogic propaganda possesses certain advantages. It makes it possible to disguise the real social nature of fascism.

The personnel of the fascist movement, in addition to employing violence against active elements of the working masses, assumes another highly important function.

The mass of the population, made victims of violence and brutality, deprived of the truth by suppression of the free press, deprived of all forms of independent organization, have to be systematically deceived so that they shall submit passively to be plundered, so that they shall not revolt when driven to slaughter. The old methods of propaganda no longer suffice. Lies have to be disseminated systematically and on a mass scale. It becomes necessary to drum into the heads of millions of people ideas which are the very opposite of facts.

Hitler came to power when the conditions of the Versailles Treaty had in fact been annulled almost completely. The hysterical cries

against the Versailles system were designed to prevent the masses from understanding that the German people were to be drawn into a war of aggression and plunder in order to realize the plans of aggrandizement of parasitic big business.

The concentration of undertakings reached in Germany, whereby a few dozen people dispose of all the country's productive forces, is the most repugnant form of capitalistic tyranny. The economic measures of the fascist government also favor the power and accentuate the rapacity of the trusts.

The demand is made of the masses that they swear that that which is in the process of being realized is "socialism." In Germany, as in Italy, the state intervenes greatly in the direction of the country's economic life. What is the aim and content of its intervention? It is the state that orders, above all, the reduction of wages — by decree, without any participation by or consultation with any workers' organizations. It is the state that decides, when the economic life of the country is shaken by a crisis, that the small and petty producers shall go to their ruin, and sanctions control by the trusts over entire branches of production. It is the state that ordains that the peasants shall no longer be able to dispose of their products, which are requisitioned for concentration in the hands of the big proprietors and profiteering sharks. It is the state, finally, which casts all the country's resources into the crucible for the preparation of wars of conquest. Privation, poverty and famine become widespread among the working population whereas profits of the munitions trusts shoot up to dizzy heights. And it is this Moloch of the most open class despotism that the fascists call a state "above classes," a "new system," in which capitalism is "surpassed."

In Germany the title "National-Socialism" is given to the regime, of which the aim is to aggravate and render eternal all the sores of capitalism and which at the same time drives the German people on toward national catastrophe.

In Italy it exalts, as the author of national regeneration, a government that has driven the people backwards to the extent of at least 50 years as regards their standard of living, that has led the country to suffer the most shameful defeats in all its history, and condemns the nation to the humiliation of being the vassal of a foreign country.

How are we to explain the fact that these lies do not collapse of themselves in the face of the real facts? The answer is, first, that the propaganda of fascism is never separated from the violence and from the pressure of the state machine on the masses. Second, because fascism has made use of the deep traces left in the minds of the working people by the corrupt propaganda and the activity of Social-Democracy; some of the false ideas spread by the Social-Democrats have, without much change, become part of the arsenal of fascist propaganda. Finally, and above all, it is because a large section of the people, and particularly of the younger generation, drawn like robots into

the technique of war preparation, is subjected to a system of regimentation that drives them toward primitive bestiality and prevents them from using their own heads, or thinking at all. It is not merely a question of the destruction of books and of cultural progress; it is a matter of letting loose the basest passions, the wild instincts of beasts of prey, the excitation of barbaric sentiments, contempt and hatred for foreign peoples, so as to find a pretext for plundering them and reducing them to slavery. The fascists, who proclaim themselves to be the representatives of a "superior race," of a "chosen nation," are in effect reduced to the lowest level of civilization.

In countries over which they secure control we find at the summit of the social scale the champions of a decaying regime of exploitation, whereas their mass basis is a miserable mass—a mass for whom systematic violence, of which it is the object, the privation to which it is subject, and the school of crime which it is forced to undergo have resulted in its members losing the aspect of human beings. Nothing is more understandable, more legitimate and more just than the fact that in all the European countries and throughout the world all civilized human beings are rising up in revolt against this crazy effort to hold up human progress, this effort to drive humanity into barbarism in order to satisfy the insatiable rapacity of a handful of bandits and plunderers of other people's wealth.

Peoples who have no wish to be deprived of their national independence won in the course of centuries as a result of heroic struggle; nations who will not tolerate being transformed into slaves of a band of super-exploiters; states based on democratic principles; all men who nurture aspirations for the future of social justice and progress, are gathering together in a united front, the very extent of which is a guarantee of inevitable victory.

It is by violence exercised against the masses of the people that fascism reached and maintains its power. The war machine of German Nazism is an instrument designed to apply this violence on an international scale. It is only by the destruction of this war machine that the fascist offensive against all the achievements of civilization can be smashed. It is to the extent that this machine falls to pieces that the masses of human beings whom fascism has reduced to slavery will open their eyes and rise up in revolt against those who are responsible for their slavery, for their transformation into wild beasts. It is on the heroic army of the Soviet people that this task falls primarily today.

By placing themselves in the forefront of the struggle for the destruction of the fascist monster, the Soviet people—who no longer know the meaning of economic exploitation, political oppression or national hatred—this people that has cemented its iron unity on the basis of the most advanced social regime and most extensive democracy—by this very fact places itself in the vanguard of all free and progressive humanity.

THE NAZI "NEW ORDER" IN EUROPE—WHAT IT MEANS

BY K. GOTTWALD

THE German fascists never tire of speaking about the so-called "reconstruction of Europe." They would have us believe that the establishment of a "new order" in Europe is the aim of the war which they themselves brought on. But what is behind this slogan? What, properly speaking, will this "new order" in Europe, conceived by the fascists, be like?

We can say without hesitation that the German fascists talk of "reconstruction of Europe" but understand this to mean conversion of Europe into a colony of Hitler Germany, which she will use as a jumping-off ground for achieving world domination. It is generally known that the bandits who still rule Germany suffer from a superiority complex and regard themselves as a "superior race." To them it is quite natural that all other people must be subordinated to Hitler Germany. Nor do they make any exception in this game in respect for their allies—Italy, for example.

Time was when they still spoke of two "leading" nations in Europe, Germany and Italy. But after Mussolini's defeat in Africa, and after Hitler had to come to the rescue of his ill-starred partner in Libya and Albania, all talk about Italy's "leading" role was dropped. The German fascists make it very clear that there is but one power in Europe destined to "lead" not only the continent but the world, and that power is Germany.

They are particularly outspoken "in their own circles." Rauschning, who was at one time one of Hitler's most intimidate friends, in his book quotes Hitler as follows:

"I never extend to other nations the same rights as those extended to the German people. Our job is to bring other nations under our subordination. The German people are destined to give the world a new caste of masters."

What, in the Nazis' view, are the prerogatives of this "leading" power? What domains, so to speak, are to constitute its monopoly?

Goebbels gave a very clear reply to this—Germany shall rule supreme in military, economic, currency and foreign policies.

"In these four spheres the leading power must bear the main responsibility for the whole of Europe. Smaller states must come under the subordination of the leading power, particularly in these four spheres of political life, both for their own

welfare as well as for that of Europe as a whole."

Modesty, as we see, is not one of Goebbels' virtues.

What then remains in this "new Europe" to the lot of "led" nations? What problems will they be allowed to tackle? Perhaps those pertaining to culture and education? Goebbels' reply to this is:

"Cultural and political conditions in each individual country will be regulated in the direct interests of the population of the country concerned, its historic heritage and psychology."

"Will be regulated"—this means that, in "questions of cultural and political life," the "led" nations will depend on Germany for solutions and will not be allowed to work them out themselves. Goebbels maintains that the regulation of these problems will be in the "direct interest" of the peoples concerned. But one need only look at the devasation wrought by German fascism in the cultural life of the occupied countries to realize what sort of tutelage these Brown obscurantists are preparing in the "direct interest" of the peoples.

But while Goebbels, by virtue of his official position, still finds it necessary to give hazy explanations about Germany's intention to respect certain interests of "led" peoples, another fascist chieftain, Minister of Economy Funk, puts the issue very bluntly. Here is what he said in July, 1940:

"My general plan of post-war economy will be to guarantee the maximum economic security to the great German Reich and the maximum of commodities to enhance the welfare of the German people. The European economic life must be directed to the achievement of this goal."

Here we have it in black and white: the whole of Europe, all her peoples, must toil for Hitler Germany; everything and everyone will be harnessed in the interests of Hitler's Reich. Here it is all crystal clear: it is not a matter of Europe's "reconstruction," but rather of her colonization by Hitler Germany. Fascist spokesmen make no secret of this. Many more such statements by fascist ringleaders could be cited. But their deeds, what they are now doing whenever they have seized power, are more eloquent than words could be. Certainly both in the occupied and "allied" countries they are not averse to explaining things away by pointing to war times, promising that everything will change as soon as the war is over. But here too they expose their own lies. To quote Funk once more:

"After the victorious termination of the war we will apply in our economic policy the same methods which prior to the war and particularly during it brought us major economic achievements. We shall not tolerate a revival of chaotic competition, which has created the greatest difficulties for German economy."

Thus the present deeds or, more correctly, misdeeds of the German fascists must be taken as full-

fledged examples of what they hypocritically style as a "new order in Europe."

At the outset of his rapacious campaign Hitler declared that his task was to set up a "Great German Reich." This "Great German Reich" was to include all "kindred German peoples" inhabiting regions bordering on Germany. With the unscrupulousness so typical of him, Hitler tried to capitalize on the slogan of the self-determination of the peoples. It served as a pretext for Germany's annexation of Austria, her occupation of the so-called Sudetenland in Czechoslovakia, and for tearing Memel from Lithuania. In doing so neither the Austrians, the Sudeten Germans and least of all the Memel population were asked if they favored annexation to Hitler Germany. So Hitler seized these lands by force and proclaimed them a component part of the "Great German Reich." In those days Hitler was still shouting that he had no further territorial claims in Europe and that he had no intention of including any other nations in his "Greater Germany." This was said particularly with regard to the Czechs. But even at that time this was a brazen lie, for when he had occupied the Sudetenland, Hitler "incidentally" brought nearly 800,000 Czechs under his heel. This, however, was only the beginning.

Less than a few months elapsed and Hitler found that his "Greater Germany" was still too small. He proceeded to occupy the remainder of the Czech territory and annexed it to the Reich as a "protectorate." Then came the war and with it several countries and regions were declared to be "an inseparable part" of this "Great German Reich." These included the whole of Western Poland, which was simply worked into the pattern of Germany, while the remainder of Poland was added on as "Gouvernement General."

In the west, the whole of Luxemburg and the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine were "reunited" with Germany and incorporated into it. In the southeast Hitler took from Yugoslavia the region of Maribor, which he incorporated as part of Germany. Let us see what fate has befallen the peoples whom Hitler incorporated in the "Great German Reich" over two years ago, and particularly the fate of the two Slav nations, the Czechs and the Poles.

What happened was that they were deprived of their land, banished and exterminated as nations —no more and no less. Rauschning cites Hitler's following declaration:

"The Bohemia-Moravia valley and the eastern regions bordering on Germany will be settled by German peasants. The Czechs must be driven out of Central Europe. . . . The Slav peasant with his tiny plot must be deprived of his land and converted into a propertyless proletarian so as to diminish the growth of the Slav population. Arable land must in the main be transferred to the German master caste. Throughout the whole eastern territory only Germans must have the right to become well-to-do peasants. Peasants of other nationalities must become workers, farm hands and unskilled industrial workers for

Germany. . . . All farm work will be performed by bands of roaming workers of non-German nationality who will receive the most insignificant pay for their labor. Without resurrecting some modern form of serfdom, or, if you like, slavery, human culture cannot develop further."

This is not the raving of a madman. It is actually being put into operation on a large scale. Hundreds of thousands of Polish peasants in the western regions of the country are being deprived of their home and land. The same fate has befallen many thousands of Czech peasants in the so-called protectorate. All the French peasants in Alsace-Lorraine have been deprived of their soil and banished from the country, and the same treatment has been meted out to the Slovene peasants in Maribor, and the Belgian peasants in Eupen-Malmedy. Hordes of German fascists are taking over these lands and depriving the people of all the means of livelihood. The occupied countries are turned over to rich commissioners, engineers, administrators of all ranks, not to mention Hitler's violence apparatus—the Gestapo, the S.S. units and the Army. They all come there as the new German master caste. The non-German peoples are reduced to the position of slaves in social status as well. Millions of Poles and Czechs have been deprived of their country; they have lost all their belongings and have virtually been converted into "roaming workers," or, to be more exact, "roaming slaves" of the Nazi masters.

Yet all this is just the beginning! Who can doubt but that Hitler, the rabid and zealous agent of German imperialism, is capable of carrying his madman's plans of annihilating whole Slav nations to completion if his criminal and insane activities are not cut short in good time? Has not this arch gangster once declared:

"It is our duty to destroy the population just as we are in duty bound to do everything to promote the growth of the German population. We must work out a technique of exterminating a population. But, you will ask, what is meant by exterminating a population? Do I want to exterminate whole nations? Yes, this approximately is the aim. Nature is cruel and we must be cruel, too."

Such is Hitler's plan for physical annihilation of peoples inhabiting the "Great German Reich." The very intention of driving from their land 20,000,000 Poles and 8,000,000 Czechs, of converting them into homeless slaves of the "master nation," a crime for which history provides no parallel, should fill with horror all the peoples for whom Hitler is preparing a place in the "new Europe." It should be remembered that as long as Hitler is not crushed and Hitlerism destroyed, the frontiers of the "Greater Germany" will always tend to expand. Hence other peoples, too, may at any moment be faced with the same deadly peril as the Poles and Czechs.

Hitler is preparing the same fate for his "allies"—Rumanians, Hungarians and Finns. The important

thing is that Hitler's policy is one and the same with regard to all nations. Fascists look upon all nations as "not fully valid," and as destined merely to serve the German "master race." From what has been said it is evident that the German fascists are asserting their right to the actual solution of all problems in their "reconstructed" Europe. And they are in fact doing so without any restraint in the countries they have conquered. Even their "allies" are mercilessly exploited by them and reduced to the level of a "lower race." Hitler Germany rules supreme in the economic life of every one of these countries. All resources, all labor power, every bit of vitality is being squeezed out by the Nazis to an extent hitherto unimagined. The fact that German imperialism is still able to keep its enormous war machine in running condition is due only to the rape of Europe. Europe has been condemned to hunger and back-breaking toil for the sake of fascist Germany. Moreover, this is attended by unprecedented profits for German capitalists.

They take their booty in the form of whole industries in occupied and "allied" countries. Following in the wake of Germany's armed hordes like a true marauder comes the German capitalist and primarily the new Nazi exploiter. Wherever the foot of German fascism treads, it brings social and political oppression for the working people such as history never has seen. Hitler's words about creating a modern form of slavery are being translated into deeds. Democratic rights? Freedom of the press, organization and assembly? Humanism and human dignity? All these things, the goal of centuries of human endeavor, all that spells progress and civilization, have been demolished by these fascist barbarians. Back to the darkest days of history is their motto. Concentration camps, scaffold, executioner's axe and firing squad are their methods.

The national question? In this field the German fascists are giving both the hostile and the "allied" nations a good taste of the "master mentality." National feelings, national dignity and national traditions are being trampled under foot and insulted by the fascists, who make a cynical travesty of them. The fascists' method always has been to deprive their political opponents of human dignity. In German concentration camps they force their tortured victims to shout "We are pigs, we are not humans." Now this gang of sadist criminals metes out the same treatment to whole nations. Fascism has falsified history so that "the superiority" of Germany might be "proved" in all spheres of human endeavor.

The oppressed peoples are ordered to shun their own past, they are compelled to repeat insolent Nazi falsifications so that insult may be added to injury. It is not enough for Hitler to disarm the people, to fleece them and convert them into serfs of the "master race." No, Hitler also destroys their national dignity, and this is but logical for him. For with the "master race" dominating, all others can be merely "slave races," with a "master

mentality" there can only be a "slave mentality." To say that this means Nazi colonization of Europe is only part of the truth, for undoubtedly it signifies the complete enslavement of Europe.

Are Hitler's designs limited to Europe alone? By no means. Hitler has on more than one occasion publicly declared that Africa is a component part of Europe and therefore a component part of the German *Lebensraum*. But things do not end with Africa. Hitler is out for more, he is out for world domination and nothing short of that will meet his purpose. In their propaganda for foreign consumption the fascists still deny this, but among themselves they indulge in most far-reaching dreams of world rule. Rauschning, for example, tells us:

"At that time I first learned of what shape the great German overseas empire would take. I was surprised to learn that Hitler lays claim to the South Seas too. He attached particular importance to Germany's former island possessions, to which he intends to add the Netherland colonies and New Guinea. . . . Hitler took the view that, following the disintegration of the British Empire, it would be possible to break the Anglo-Saxon influence in North America and replace it by German culture and the German language. He regarded this as a necessary requisite for incorporating the United States in the German world empire."

It is clear to every sensible man that this mad adventure is doomed to failure. No, Europe and the world will not allow themselves to be enslaved by Hitler Germany! There is not the slightest doubt that this gang of fascist criminals, who have run amok, will be destroyed and run off the face of the earth together with their Fuehrer.

But this demands a bitter struggle and much sacrifice. The peoples of the Soviet Union, marching for human culture, now bear the brunt of the fight. It must be realized that Hitler's gangs are fighting today with the desperation of a gambler staking his all. When, before the war, Hitler told his "circle of confederates" about his plans for world domination he was asked: "What would happen if a coalition of world powers were to be formed to counteract Germany's plans of conquest?" Hitler replied: "I would not be alive then. But if we are unable to conquer, then in perishing we will take at least half of the world down with us. . . ."

What depths of depravity and misanthropy are revealed by these words! But they also provide an insight into Hitler's tactics at the present stage of the war. What he feared most of all—the coalition of the world's mightiest powers against Hitler Germany—is becoming a reality. In the Soviet Union everywhere the ground is burning under the Nazis' feet. They are mustering the last forces still at their disposal in order to force the issue in their favor. But this last stake, too, will be lost.

THE FRENCH PEOPLE RISE IN STRUGGLE AGAINST THE INVADERS

BY GASTON RICHARD

THE Red Army's heroic struggle against the Hitler hordes has stirred every nation. Humanity has received fresh courage. The great French people too are coming onto the road of resolute struggle against the fascists. With every passing day the atmosphere in France becomes more tense. Events in France are no longer an isolated voice of indignation, nor an incidental cry of protest, nor an outburst of revenge by single heroes or groups. There has begun a wide mass movement into which all sections of the population are being drawn against the invaders and their French servitors. No longer are there indifferent observers in France.

A profound change has taken place in the political life of the French people. The decisive role in bringing about this change was played by the Red Army's mighty resistance to the Hitler hordes, a resistance which shatters the myth of the "invincibility" of German arms. In France this myth was a source of catastrophic events. For years it was used to dope the people's minds and fetter their will. This "invincibility" myth was a trump card for Hitler's agents in France. They used it as their main argument to justify and camouflage their policy of capitulation. These traitors and renegades, cowards and capitulators, very often stood at the head of the Ministry of National Defense, the Foreign Ministry, belonged to the Supreme Defense Council and the Army General Staff, and even occupied the post of Premier. These men took part in working out France's tragedy, drawing up mobilization plans, deciding questions pertaining to her army and supplies. They directed France's Intelligence Service. They had a firm footing in the Home Ministry, occupied key positions in the secret police and everywhere sold French passports, and state and military secrets. They had a free hand in the press, free access to the radio, they set the tone in the propaganda organs, and took an active part in molding "public opinion," in fostering the myth of the "invincibility" of German fascism.

In *Le Populaire* they went as far as "scientifically" substantiating and proving the inexorable inevitability and necessity of German fascism's victory throughout the world. The fact that millions from the funds of the German spy Abetz, distributed by the French Count de

Brignon, filled the pockets of these "invincibility" myth advocates was concealed from the people. The masses were equally ignorant of the fact that this myth was fostered by a French-German society which had connections in every corner of France. The masses didn't know that this society, directed by Abetz, de Brignon, Laval and de l'Oncle, was like a huge den which absorbed all the social scum with truly German methodicalness—traitors, Cagoulards and gangsters of the Doriot type, prostitute preachers of pacifism, criminal elements, wretched penny-a-liners and hack journalists.

The wide masses could not know that this gang of traitors had divided roles: some were engaged in undermining France's diplomatic position, impelling it toward vassal subordination to Hitler Germany, others were diligently working to weaken the country's defense ability, still others deliberately caused financial and economic difficulties, while a fourth group devoted all its efforts to splitting the French people and rendering them impotent, using all means to achieve this goal.

The wide masses did not know that many of the country's rulers and generals regarded defeat as a lesser evil compared with Hitler Germany's defeat. Traitors and defeatists worked hand in glove—they intimidated people by the "might" of the German armies and instilled in them the idea that any resistance would be both hopeless and useless. France's enemies circulated the legend about the possibility of securing a lasting peace by capitulating to Hitlerism For this purpose they sacrificed the independence of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Spain, trying to prove that at this price France could purchase immunity from war.

And when, in the early summer of 1940, after eight months of "phony" war, the enemy invaded French territory, the myth of Germany's "invincibility" became the slogan of the French High Command. Pétain and Weygand adopted a capitulation policy, declaring all resistance futile and hopeless. And France's enemies achieved their aim. The day came when President Lebrun had to exclaim in public "Can there be anything more tragic for France than her generals and officers refusing to fight?" Defeated France was held in the talons of the occupation forces.

More than one year has passed since that day, a year crowded with endless torment, suffering, privation, calamity and humiliation. The people are not reconciled to defeat, they have not bowed to the occupation forces, have not succumbed to the capitulators' fraud. But the people saw no way out, they were still oppressed by the nightmarish myth of the invaders' "invincibility," terror-stricken by the ghastly spectacle of their brutality and looting going unpunished.

The situation has changed since then. Stalin's words that "There are no invincible armies, and never have been" were like a flame of life inspiring the insulted hearts of the French patriots, they resounded over France's towns and villages like a clarion call. New vistas were

opened up and the people saw a way out, for the courage and heroism of the Red Army inspired them to a resolute struggle.

Frenchmen understood that they were faced with the titanic task of rallying together and fighting, of ousting the enemy and his agents. The enemy is brutal and insidious, his fury is bound to increase and the struggle against him demands great sacrifices and a supreme effort. But this cannot daunt the French people once it is clear that the enemy can be crushed and annihilated.

The agreement between the U.S.S.R. and Great Britain providing for joint action against Hitler Germany and increasing the aid rendered the anti-Hitler front by the U.S.A., has an important stimulating effect on the conscience and will of the French people. The creation of a mighty anti-fascist front of the world's three greatest powers, a front which enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of mankind, enhances still more the confidence of French patriots in their own victory. This confidence is an important factor in developing the growing guerrilla warfare movement and other forms of the people's struggle in all the Hitler-occupied countries.

Drastic changes, which made the situation in France much more acute, were the outcome of the Red Army's powerful resistance to the Hitler hordes and were possible because within France all the necessary conditions for these changes had matured.

The suffering and hardships of the French people continued steadily to grow in the little more than a year that separates us from France's defeat and capitulation. Neither capitulation nor armistice gave the people peace, work or bread.

German concerns swooped down on French industry like vultures after their prey. Relying on the support of the military command and the Gestapo, they have established themselves in the French banks. They have flooded the country with paper francs and are making a handsome profit by speculating with French currency. They decide the fate of hundreds and thousands of factories.

They have gained possession or control of important mills and factories in heavy industry. German concerns collaborate with the Nazi High Command in determining which French factory should continue to function and which should be closed and its machinery removed to Germany.

The distribution of raw materials and orders among the French factories is dictated by Berlin and executed under the control of German agents. This procedure has spelled ruin for hundreds of thousands of small and medium-sized commercial and industrial firms. A large army of handicraftsmen and small traders were completely ruined. France's entire economy is rapidly being reshaped into an auxiliary of the German war apparatus, into a colonial appendage, into a hinterlnd for German fascist imperialism. The occupation authorities dictate to the French workers their conditions of life and labor,

wages and the working day. They compel them to go to forced labor camps in Germany, or leave them to die of starvation in France. The French workers are being thrown into prison and shot.

The occupation forces are robbing the peasants of their last. This robbery is both systematic and spontaneous. They requisition all cattle and foodstuffs, and have introduced an elaborate system of fines, violence and executions. By every conceivable means the occupation authorities try to strangle any manifestation of thought or feeling of the freedom-loving French people. The fascist obscurantists are insulting the country's great history, the people's national feeling and human dignity.

They interfere in school management, order all school and university curricula to be reshaped in the German Nazi spirit, demand the falsification of history and other sciences, oust teachers and professors who fail to meet their requirements and try to substitute their own hopeless stupidity and ignorance for France's great culture.

The German jackboot is trampling on a large part of French territory. In eleven Departments the Nazis are deporting the Frenchmen in order to make way for their own colonists. Alsace and Lorraine have been annexed to the Reich, a large section of the population deported from these provinces, and their property looted.

The fascist occupationists act as the master in unoccupied France as well. The military and economic emissaries and Gestapo agents are employed here as experts and observers whose business it is to control the way France fulfills the Compiegne clauses. In actual fact they are the means of German control over the local authorities of unoccupied zones.

The German fascists most insolently establish themselves in unoccupied French ports and in all the key points of French North Africa. Hitler is now making every endeavor to get the French Navy under his control. For their own part Hitler's occupation forces have taught France a lesson: That they are its bitterest enemies, enslavers and executioners.

But this has served only to rally all the French forces. The French people have only profound disgust and contempt for the initiators of the collaboration policy, for all these spies—Abetz, Laval, de Brignon and Company. The French people were faced with a whole gang of mercenary traitors in their country. The people gained a good idea of this gang of hired traitors, who were exposed by Hitler, their own master and France's enslaver.

After Hitler's hordes had overrun France, these traitors came out of their vice-dens and, widely advertising their services to the occupation forces, they began to find jobs in the government and other important state institutions.

Hitler imposed on France, in the tone of an ultimatum, rulers from his own selection of paid agents. One of his foulest agents is Laval, who began his career by petty treachery. As a young barrister he reported to the police about his

clients, some of whom were trade union leaders. His whole political career is one endless chain of treachery and renegacy. In the last twenty years Laval was engineering the greatest piece of treachery his country had yet seen. In this way Laval was able to work up from a petty swindler and police informer into a rich profiteer and landowner.

Around Laval is grouped a gang of base traitors, acting as an auxiliary force for the German occupationists. Another notorious traitor to the French nation, Count de Brignon, formerly the representative of the German Intelligence Service in France, and right-hand man to the archspy Abetz, is now representative of the Vichy Government in Paris. Abetz's other assistant, Scapini, now represents Vichy on questions pertaining to French war prisoners.

Thus having appointed his own men to key positions in occupied and unoccupied France, Hitler has exposed them to public contempt. Cagoulard and bandit de l'Oncle, crooked politician Deat, gangster Doriot, trade union renegade and thug Dumoulin, prostitutes Bonnet, Roi, Rives, Spinas, Luchere and others have all shown themselves to be Hitler's true servitors. Their social demagogy borrowed from the Nazis suffered a fiasco. Their role of traitors to their country was so clear to all that their further stay in France was dangerous. They can remain in the country only as paid agents of the Gestapo and under its protection.

It is hardly surprising then that one of the first acts in the liberation struggle of the French people, which is now beginning, was an attempt to destroy these traitors. Collette's shots at Laval and Deat was by no means the first attempt to settle accounts with the traitors.

Frightened by this retribution by the people, the coward Doriot simply fled to Germany under the pretext of joining "the volunteers." This contemptible Hitlerite scum stands fully exposed before the French people. The same can be said of the Vichy Government, which today puts into practice the notorious collaboration policy. This government came to power after France's débacle and capitulation in July of last year. It was created as a result of a coup d'état. The capitulators and traitors needed this coup d'état to shield their responsibility for the country's defeat and to compel the people to reconcile themselves to capitulation. This coup d'état, which in fact was but the continuation of the policy of national defection, was styled a "national revolution."

The French people, not yet recovered from the blows sustained by the severe catastrophe, were given the most enticing promises. France was swept by brazen demagogy; the unemployed were promised work and relief, handicraftsmen and small traders were soothed with stories about the return to the "good old times" when there were no trusts, banks or monopolies. Peasants were told that a golden era of prosperity was just around the corner. France, devastated and poverty-stricken, was given a rosy

picture of resurrection, development, prosperity and a new life.

Two million families of war prisoners were promised a speedy return of their menfolk. There was no end to the fervid speeches and solemn pledges to uphold the honor, independence and territorial integrity of France. But all this proved a fraud and deceit.

The Pétain regime did not resist the looting of the country by the Nazi occupation forces. More, it zealously helped the latter, shielding their misdeeds and punishing those who exposed them. The ministers made repeated statements through the press and radio, the aim of which was to clear the occupation authorities, to guard them against the wrath and indignation of the French people. The Germans were pillaging the country, the Frenchmen lived in poverty, and the Vichy Government tried its best to convince the masses that their hunger was God's punishment for "sinful democratic lust."

The Vichy policy on the labor question proved utterly bankrupt. All its measures to combat unemployment in essence reduced themselves to financing monopoly industries which had no desire to risk their own funds, to subsidizing factories working for Hitler Germany, ceasing relief payments to all the unemployed refusing to work for Germany, supplying industrialists with forced labor on terms which they could only welcome. Now the Vichy Government itself admits that the conditions of the French working class are intolerable.

Vichy's so-called labor policy is a policy of steadily worsening the conditions of the working class, splitting its forces and disorganizing its ranks; it is a policy of brutal reprisal and terror. The essence of the Pétain regime is exposed in the policy of Franco-German "collaboration." This "collaboration" finds expression in the fact that Count de Brignon, paid agent of the spy Abetz, is actually above Marshal Pétain. Under the flag of "collaboration," Hitler Germany made its agent Darlan *Gauleiter* of France. Under the cover of this policy France's enslavers have taken over the leadership of the country's "national defense."

This notorious collaboration has allowed Hitler to hold 1,500,000 war prisoners to this day. He has released a few score thousand sick, disabled invalids, men who can no longer work and whom it does not pay to keep. But others are not released, for they continue to work in conditions of penal servitude with no pay. Hitler uses these war prisoners to carry out his foul policy of enslaving France. He promised, for instance, to release all the war prisoners whose brothers join the anti-Soviet "volunteer" detachments. On the other hand, French war prisoners in Germany are held as hostages should any member of their families in France be guilty of anti-German activity.

In line with Pétain's "collaboration" policy, the Gestapo and Cagoulards killed former French Minister of Justice Dormoy, on the day following the conference with Darlan. This policy made it possible for General Dentz, who surrendered

Paris to the Germans without firing a single shot, to sacrifice the lives of many thousands of Frenchmen in Syria in the interests of Hitler Germany. This policy led to the fact that the criminal elements who brought France to defeat and forced her to capitulate now have the insolence to call upon the enslaved French to fight in the ranks of Hitler's armies against the Soviet Union. The collaboration policy has led not to more favorable armistice terms, but to greater oppression and humiliation for France.

The Vichy Government has become an accomplice of the occupation forces, a tool in their hands. So far it has been able to pursue the same policy as that mapped out by Laval, but with less risk to itself. Vichy's special service to Hitler is that the Pétain regime temporarily restrained public indignation and hampered unity of struggle of the French nation against alien domination. But the Pétain government is no longer able to fulfill this mission, for it stands exposed in the eyes of the people. Its anti-French, anti-popular and pro-Hitler policy now is thoroughly clear to all. The French people did not allow themselves to be hoodwinked by the Pétain regime. The people are against Vichy. This is an irrefutable fact and the Vichy ringleaders have no choice but to admit their isolation.

Thierry Maulnier, Pétain's closest political adviser, writing in *Le Jour* on July 28, declared that dangerous intrigues are developing within the ruling camp and that the entire country is gripped by plots against the Government. Maulnier enumerated these plots and found that the major ones were: (1) plots of certain groups among the Vichy followers; (2) plots of certain dissatisfied big capitalists; (3) plot of the Radicals and Freemasons; (4) a Communist plot; (5) a Socialist plot, and (6) a Christian Democrat plot. But Maulnier regards this enumeration as incomplete; undoubtedly other plots exist, he writes, and all of them are active plots.

On August 12 Pétain delivered a political speech, in the course of which he said:

"A bad wind blows from certain French provinces. A feeling of uneasiness prevails. Doubts and misgivings grip Frenchmen. The authority of my government is being challenged. My orders more often than not are disobeyed. The people succumb to unhealthy sentiments. Some regard themselves as betrayed, others are sure that they have been abandoned to their own fate. A double barrier has sprung up between the people and myself."

Over a year ago, during France's tragic days of defeat and capitulation, certain sections in the country and particularly among the petty bourgeoisie were influenced by clever demagogy and regarded Pétain as an honest Frenchman. They still had faith in Pétain and looked to him with some hope. But today the number of these credulous people is rapidly declining. On Sept. 3, 1941, the Vichy Secretary of Information tried to justify the new sharp measures against the people. He said that the Marshal decided to sacrifice his authority, but in actual

fact there is nothing left for the Marshal to sacrifice.

What we see is a picture of the complete bankruptcy of the French ruling clique. The unification of the Paris Laval-Deat group and the Vichy group under Hitler leadership is actually completed. But this unification also brought out the isolation camp capitulators and traitors, who have irrevocably linked up their fate with that of Hitler Germany, which is now enslaving France.

A new political alignment of forces in France accelerated the establishment of the fighting unity of the entire French nation. This is the most characteristic and decisive feature of the French scene today. France's defeat showed up the complete insolvency of the political parties and groups that ruled the country prior to the war. All Frenchmen, regardless of their former political divisions, were faced with the vital problem: will or will not France be a strong and free power, will she maintain her existence or perish? This problem has become a basic one, it predominates over all other questions.

The specific social demands of the proletarian, the engineer, the office worker, the peasant, etc., have become part of the nation's cardinal problem. The worker sees that labor conditions, wages, working hours, social insurance, trade union rights, cultural requirements, and, in fact, the very possibility of his existence all hinge on the fundamental problem: will France be governed by the occupation forces and their agents or will she maintain independence and live as an independent nation? This problem, which confronts all, serves to unite Frenchmen. That is why the French people learned quickly to overcome the remnants of all political diversions and to organize their ranks anew.

Not only the universal calamity and humiliation, not only the universal hatred and contempt for the occupation forces have united all sections of the French people. They have been united also by the universal recognition of the need to fight and by general confidence in victory. The French people are more and more taking the road of active struggle against their foes.

France expresses her hatred for the invaders in large street demonstrations. Mass demonstrations took place in Paris on July 13 and 14, and up to one million people marched. Demonstrators marched in columns carrying the Tricolor, singing patriotic songs and the Marseillaise.

Anti-German demonstrations were held on July 14 in many other towns. They were particularly stormy in Strassburg. In July a public demonstration of protest against the German murder of a French worker took place in Pontoise. On July 24 Paris was the scene of another demonstration, this time to protest against the execution of a worker, André Masseron, by the Germans. On Belleville Street and in the Temple District a mass anti-German demonstration took place on July 27. Anti-German demonstrations were also staged in Lyons, St. Etienne. Renn, Dijon and even Vichy, not to mention many other places. Demonstrations to

protest against the recruiting of "volunteers" for the Eastern Front were held in the 11th and 12th Districts of Paris, and Hitler recruiting bureaus were smashed.

In theaters, cinemas, on streets, in subways, markets and stores, everywhere Frenchmen find diverse forms to express their hatred for the occupation forces and their contempt for Hitler's French lackeys.

Anti-fascist inscriptions can be found on houses, walls and even on the backs of German soldiers. When the police made storekeepers display Darlan's portrait in their windows, the storekeepers displayed it with the legend "sold."

In villages, peasants publicly burn Pétain's portrait. In factories working on German orders, the workers resort to sabotage.

French patriots derail trains carrying German troops, freight or Franco "volunteers" from Spain.

Home Minister Pucheau was compelled at the end of August to officially admit that in several weeks there were over a hundred cases of major damage and train wrecks on railways. Telegraph, telephone and high tension wires are being cut with increasing frequency. Now here, now there, munitions dumps are blown up, machinery and food stores awaiting shipment to Germany are burned.

At first the Germans offered a reward of 20,000 francs for any report leading to the detection of saboteurs or wreckers. Subsequently they raised this sum gradually to 1,000,000 francs, but so far not a single Frenchman has reported his intrepid countrymen.

At present the Nazis are resorting to executions and the Vichy lackeys have put a guillotine into action. But, notwithstanding this, sabotage is becoming an ever more frequent occurrence. In their fury the Hitler bandits decided to use their favorite method of provocation. Goering paid a special visit to Paris and conferred with de l'Oncle on this question. With the aid of their French agents the Nazis decided to stage several collisions of passenger trains and organized explosions in certain non-war mills, mines and offices. The Hitler gang intended to use these foul acts in order to evoke among the French population hostility toward the courageous patriots who are fighting the occupation forces.

But these plans miscarried. Vigilant French patriots had no difficulty in seeing the intentions of suspicious individuals who appeared in certain railway stations and factories. Thus one more Nazi provocation, perpetrated with the aid of their French agents, is exposed.

French workers express their hatred for the occupation forces by strikes. July and August saw strikes in the mine fields of the northern districts and Pasdecalais, Martini and Grandcombes, at wharves in Bordeau and Draveil, on railways in Sotteville, Equiqueville, Monville, mines inland and in several other places. Though of a local character, these strikes are evidence of accumulated dissatisfaction among the workers. The French people express their opposition and resistance to the regime of occupation also by direct actions against the Nazi army and the traitors. Cases of reprisals

against fascist officers and soldiers have increased in number ever since July of this year. Such cases have been registered in Paris, the northern districts of Marseille, Dijon, Poitiers and other cities and villages.

Recently three Hitlerites were shot down by a sub-machine gun mounted on a passenger car. The murder of a German staff officer in broad daylight in a Paris subway created a big impression. Nazis were particularly frenzied by the fact that the attack took place in a crowded station and not a single man attempted to detain the assassin.

The bold shots fired by a sailor, Paul Collette, at Laval and Deat strikingly revealed the whole situation in France. In May of last year Collette participated as a volunteer in the fighting at Dunkirk. With his hand this young patriot of France fired a shot at two of the most despicable traitors. This shot is the harbinger of the rapidly maturing active movement of the whole French people. The steadily rising liberation movement in France, its scope and depth, throw the occupationists, their Vichy puppets and the whole heterogeneous gang of traitors into confusion and frenzy.

Every means of repression and terror is put into action against the French people. In two months some 200,000 arrests have been made in France. At the demand of the occupationists, special courts were instituted in the French Tribunals to pass sentences dictated by the Hitlerites beforehand. On August 26 these special courts began to "work." Every day sees Frenchmen executed in accordance with their sentences.

At the demand of the spy Abetz, the Vichy Government also set up a special tribunal which sentences only to death or penal servitude.

Hitler, who vowed to bring about the "destruction of France," is trying to accomplish it with the hands of his French agents. The French authorities are fulfilling their role as hired executioners and murderers of the finest sons of the French people.

French judges are trying French citizens on the mere grounds that in Himmler's police record they are listed in the category of "bad Frenchmen." On August 29 eight French citizens were executed in Paris on these grounds, including naval officer Count de Orves.

On the demand of the Germans the special tribunal in Lille passed a death sentence on janitor Janson and sentenced his wife to ten years imprisonment. At the beginning of September Lille was the scene of the execution of three more French citizens. In Nantes the occupationists shot the seaman Poirier for facilitating the escape of French war prisoners into the unoccupied zone. In the early part of September several dozen "hostages" were executed in Paris. French citizens are being shot for merely writing inscriptions on buildings. For months in succession Laval, Deat and de l'Oncle were demanding "a government of action." And the Vichy government is "acting" in accordance with Hitler's prescription to "destroy France."

"Force must be employed against the anti-fascists!" de Brignon shouts.

Home Minister Pucheu threatens, "We will be ruthless in our punitive measures against anti-fascists!" "I want to save you from yourselves," Pétain "paternally" declared to Frenchmen, and began to behead Frenchmen on the guillotine.

This wild orgy of bloody repressions spares no one. It is sufficient to be an honest Frenchman for the blow of the hangman and traitor to come down upon you any moment. In vain the occupationists and the Vichy authorities are trying to justify their bloody crimes by calling all their victims Communists. Thereby they will neither deceive nor frighten anyone. France's mortal enemies have adopted as their slogan the syllogism "Every Communist is an enemy of Hitler Germany, hence every enemy of Hitler Germany is a Communist." Thus, all 40,000,000 Frenchmen are enrolled in the Communist Party! In this way General de la Laurancy, Senator from Isere and former Minister of Agriculture Perrier, aide-de-camp to Marshal Foch, Major Lopital, are transformed into Communists. Converted into Communists are also the Naval Officer Lieutenant Count de Orves, conservative Paris Judge Paul Didier, Physician of the Mobile Guard Major Despla and all officers of the Mobile Guard department in the Eastern Pyrenees.

The Vichy rulers are now beginning to see what they have done. They are beating a retreat for they realize that by branding all daring French patriots as Communists they unwillingly are paying due tribute to the nobleness and patriotism of the Communists. Incidentally, Hitler's gangster "bible," *Mein Kampf*, is widely known in France. This book puts it in black and white that the whole of France, regardless of political outlooks or convictions, must be destroyed. "It does not matter who is ruling or will rule France—Bourbons or Jacobins, Napoleons or bourgeois democrats, clerical republicans or red Bolsheviks."

This policy is now being put into practice. The German fascist occupationists and their French agents are frightened by the rising wave of resistance of the French people. They are running into a frenzy. They want to frighten the French people by shootings and the guillotine because they themselves are shivering in fear of the people.

But the people of France are not to be intimidated by the repressions. The repressions of the Hitlerites and their puppets will merely hasten the process of maturing resistance on a national scale. Repressions shatter the last illusions of those naive people who recently still believed that Pétain could help France rise to its feet. Repressions induce all Frenchmen to realize that a decisive ruthless struggle against the occupationists and their agents is the sole means for liberation and for saving themselves as a great nation.

And the whole of France's age-long history shows that whenever the French people entered a battle for honor and freedom it brought the struggle to a final conclusion, to complete victory, annihilating the foreign invaders and traitors. And the same will also happen today.

GERMAN REALITY AS REFLECTED IN SOLDIERS' CORRESPONDENCE

BY G. FRIEDRICH

THEY run into the thousands, these letters found on German war prisoners or soldiers killed in action. For the most part they are letters from home, but there are also many written by the men and about to be mailed to Germany. The writers come from all walks of life and from various parts of the Reich. Some are more outspoken, others reveal greater restraint, dictated, no doubt, by fear of what may follow any candid expression of thoughts and doubts. But they are all letters to intimate friends and relatives and they clearly reflect the people's hopes, sufferings, moods and feelings.

Reading through these letters one learns the German people's state of mind. It is a picture formed from numberless mosaics and details, some of them fully identical and others contradictory. In some cases it is only a single word put down inadvertently, or a chance phrase, but taken together they provide an answer to the question which the whole world is asking: what does fascist Germany look like in reality, what is the real picture of things inside Hitler's domain? This article gives only some of the features, sketchy but typical, scattered throughout the mass of letters. They cast a light on the state of mind of the soldiers at the front, on the attitude of the German people to the war and particularly to the attack on the Soviet Union; they give some idea of Germany's economic position. They give a picture of devastation caused by bombings, and afford some idea of the perspective with which the popular mood is fraught for the future march of events.

Every word in these letters is written by Germans themselves, by men and women from diverse sections of the Reich's population. The writers and addresses have been cited, with the exception, of course, of those cases where this might lead to fatal attention from the Gestapo authorities.

The word *landsknecht* occurs very frequently in German soldiers' letters. In some cases it is used with a shade of irony, but in most cases with obvious pride. "We organized a pig," says one of the typical letters, "in real *landsknecht* fashion." The word "organized" in this context is in keeping with the typical jargon of the German soldier. It is

a general term denoting robbery, extortion and plunder, all in one. We must of need begin precisely with these things, for reports of loot and thievery constitute the main theme of many soldiers' letters.

Lance Corporal Joseph Muzemhart, for example, writes to his wife Emma in Munich on July 6: "Today I sent you another parcel. I really don't know if you need all these things but at any rate I got them dirt cheap, in fact, they cost me nothing. I have a whole lot of other things, but the question is how will I ever send them home?" The question of what right they have to rob their poor victims in occupied countries of "a whole lot of things" is one which never even enters the mind of the true Hitler *landsknecht.* It is taken for granted that the right is theirs. This is evident from the following remark by Otto Schultz to his wife Meta in Altawald, Pomerania: "We have procured some sugar again! And some more Russian tobacco, which can well be used to exchange for other things."

The German Army is fighting in the East, "Not for any material gains, but for ideals of our country and religion, for the salvation of western civilization," screams Goebbels. But then what was this army fighting for in the West?

The answer is contained in the correspondence between Lance Corporal Kurt Kabuse and his family in Breslau. He spent the winter of 1940-41 in occupied France. On January 20, 1941, his father "ordered" from him pepper, vanilla, cocoa, rum (Jamaica rum at that!) and rubbers. "Also send me some cognac and rum, say about a hundred bottles. And what about red wine and alcohol?" Months passed and this flourishing trade developed. On May 9 the Lance Corporal received a letter from his mother: "Two big parcels have also arrived. I will take only a few of the tablecloths. The rest I will keep for you. How about the knitting wool? Shall I sell it, and at what price?"

Evidently the war in the West was fought in defense of the same "ideals." A life of professional marauders has become second nature for the German soldier and therefore he regards every extension of Hitler's bloody war, every new robber campaign, only from this point of view.

Here is a typical letter from Private Schorsch, who lives in Magdeburg. It is dated June 22, the day of Hitler's attack on the U.S.S.R., and is addressed to a fellow bandit. "So we're having a new campaign! Looks like we must give up all thoughts of civilian clothes for quite a while. But don't worry, I'll get out of it safe and sound, it's no hard job for me. You get so used to this business that there is no life without it. I simply cannot imagine any other life. . . . From your letter I can see that at any rate you are constantly functioning. Drink and women, that's your world. A few days ago I got the same news from another chap, Franz Wust, you probably know him too. In every letter he tells me about his harem. In this respect I'm not lagging behind either, and so it seems that we have all remained the same as we were. . . . Franz was made an N.C.O.

on November 1 and so he has reached his aim in life. . . . Ehrlein has just been made Lieutenant and when he's off duty you will always find him going to his harem. Drink and women are all he cares for in his free time."

These "knights" of Hitler's crusade are no exception. These are the "ideals" which were implanted in the *landsknecht* of the twentieth century, both in the years of fascist rule and in the preceding years of Hitler propaganda. All the robber campaigns and these wholesale "partial" lootings in occupied countries, and this whole war of conquest waged by Hitler and his imperialist clique are inseparable from one another.

A letter to Lieutenant Cuno von Oldershausen from his family dated July 3 runs, "We have fine lads out there. . . . Now you are entering one of the richest countries and evidently without meeting much resistance." One simply feels written in between the lines, "And you will be able to grab some good things." This is quite natural for a descendant of the Oldershausen robber knights and requires no explanation.

Frau Lotte Werner, writing from 8 Adolf Hitler Street, Sebnitz, Saxony, is much more explicit in a letter to her husband, Gottfried Werner, Sturmfuehrer and Lieutenant: "Can't you possibly get a fur coat for me off the back of some filthy Jew? One should not stand on ceremony with that scum. . . . Think about the organization of this thing [army jargon has apparently taken root in the country as well —*G.F.*] because these skunks should not be spared in general. Cloth for a suit for you and a winter coat for me would come in very handy. Anyway it would be some compensation for the hard times we're getting."

In search of more suitable and safer grounds on which to put their "ideals" into operation, these Hitler "organizers" are prepared to overrun the whole world. "I am waiting with impatience for my transfer to the African Corps," writes one Heinrich Jung, private, to his bride Rita Speinart in Berlin, 114 Kurfurstenstrasse: "This pfanatacism [spelling is this "civilizer's"—*G.F.*] first got hold of me ten years ago. I would gain much by this transfer because, first, there is no Christmas leave here, second, what you can make here won't feed a pig, and third, I am fed up. I've tasted every detail of this terrible scrap." There was only one last "detail" for him to taste at the Eastern Front—the bullet from the Red Army machine-gun. This is but one example taken from the thousands showing the workings of the minds of these youngsters, members of those "picked" detachments which Hitler sent to fight for "western culture."

Blind adventure, greed, petty careerism and above all rank ignorance and total lack of culture—such is the product of the Fuehrer's "education." This Heinrich is typical of the whole Hitler youth, which always finds itself at odds with German grammar and spelling and for whom the works of Germany's great writers and thinkers are a closed book. Like this bandit, all of them

are prepared for new adventure and barbarity.

Hundreds of letters from home draw pictures of the acute shortage of food and articles of prime necessity. They also help to explain the second reason why the German army has been transformed into one huge gang of thieves: the poverty which reigns in the Third Reich as a result of Hitler's policy of preparing and pursuing endless predatory wars.

"I really don't know what brought more joy to us," writes with extraordinary frankness the wife of N.C.O. Fritz Walter from Kierschwied in the Saar, "the butter or the news that you were well. Can it be that there are no potatoes there? Here we can get only two or three pounds. Our only hope is that the war will be over soon."

The mother of a soldier from Osterfeld writes to her son at the front: "My dear son. If you can only pick up a little bit of pork fat or butter, please send it here. . . . Oh, but if this war were to be over soon then we could live differently. . . ."

Hilda Fiedler of Brenzlau (near Ulm, Wurttemberg), writes to her husband on July 5, "Things aren't so good here either. Today I received a letter from Berlin and from mother. They all write about one and the same thing: there are no potatoes and no vegetables, so that you don't know what to cook for dinner. One has to stand in line for hours on end for every little thing. With rations as miserable as they are, there's no flour to be had, yet this is one of the most important foodstuffs. Of course, I needn't tell you that there's no fruit. No, this must all end soon."

A letter received by one soldier from his aunt in Wassertrudingen, dated July 15, runs, "Today was a lucky day for me. At last I got hold of two small packets of cigarettes and a few pieces of candy. I'm so glad to be able to send you at least these little things. We are so poor that we can't afford anything of what one would like to send a nephew. You simply can't imagine how often people refuse to sell me things when I have nothing to offer by way of exchange or extra payment. . . ."

One lady from Wuppertal complains in a letter dated June 21 that she cannot get along on the benefit paid to soldiers' families. "What would you say if I were to tell you that every month I spend from 8 to 10 marks on repairing Hans' shoes alone? The heels and toes must be repaired every eight days and it costs two marks and thirty pfennings. Besides, I must somehow manage to save up for a new pair. This week I bought him a pair of wooden shoes. He wore them four days and the soles split. So now the shoes hurt and he doesn't want to put them on any more. So there you are—five marks and twenty-five pfennings thrown away for four days' wear."

As for the supply deficiencies in the army itself, we find ample proof in the diary of Erich Nickel, Evangelist clergyman, who before the war lived at 60 Waldstrasse in Niedererde. On February 25 his unit reached Namur. Here are a few

eloquent entries from his diary: "March 1—Dinner almost inedible. Soup consisting of beans as tough as rocks in water. One loaf of bread per day for three men. We all go hungry and can find nothing to eat here. March 2—As usual, there was nothing for dinner. In the evening we received two eggs each and instead of supper we were ordered to stand at attention. April 7—Service, service, service . . . and yet nothing to eat."

In the early days of July Father Nickel arrived at the Eastern Front. Here are some entries pertaining to this period. "July 6—Rotten dinner. July 7—Horrible macaroni soup. July 16—There is no talk even of giving us dinner. July 19—We have no bread and must go to procure it from the peasants."

There's not a single letter but which does not contain complaints about the shortage of some article or other.

A mother writes to her son at the front from Stettin on May 16. "Your father must now go without his beer and cigarettes. Sometimes on Saturday evenings we do manage to buy a liter. As for bottled beer, we have forgotten even what it tastes like. Are you at any rate better fed than we are here?"

Many letters complain about the coal shortage and about "cold recesses in schools.

Peasant letters describing this year's harvest are also characteristic. Private Richard Weng received a letter from his parents in Eastern Prussia. "This year's harvest presents a sad picture. . . . In some places no oats grew at all, and we have no hay or clover."

The Eidher family, writing from Jamnitz, in the Czech protectorate, to their son, Andreas Eidher, tell him that his brother found work as a farm hand. The wages were to be paid in kind but he received nothing from the landlord. "Nowadays even the gentlefolk have no income."

A letter to Lieutenant von Oldershausen from his estate manager, dated May 3: "Fodder and fertilizer are indeed a problem." May 20: "Pastures are causing us lots of trouble for we have neither barbed wire nor metal fencing." June 4: "I've been unable to procure a drop of benzine or gram of fertilizer. To date we have managed to complete only the most insignificant repairs in the farm hands' quarters." His letter of July 6 is just as gloomy: "Benzine and lubricating oil not yet received. The fodder continues to be a terrible problem."

It should be mentioned at this point that in all probability this is the estate of a fascist landowner who could procure things now and again through his contacts in "the upper circles."

There are numerous complaints about the horribly low wages. A salesgirl writing from Bremen to her brother at the front says, "All I get is 50 marks and of course a single person can't get along on that. Anyhow, my figure has become slim and graceful. I can't even permit myself the luxury of spending an extra five pfennings, it would leave a hole in my budget. I could

never imagine that things could become so bad. . . ."

In a letter dated June 29, Karl Bartolomaus writes from Lessnik to his friend Schehr, serving at the front, "War profits were to be curtailed by 'restricting dividends,' but everywhere people wax rich, and how! Wages are strictly 'maintained' so we can't possibly accumulate wealth. . . ."

Passages in hundreds of letters show how things stand with regard to "enthusiasm" for the labor service, about which the fascists have been bragging so much.

One Irmgard, from Ziegelhof, writes to her friend in the army on June 11: "After dinner today we had to go to help the peasants weed the beet fields. But, my dear Erwin, just imagine how lucky we were, it began to rain!"

Grete, a factory worker, writes from Iserlohn to Lance Corporal Herbert Zemke: "I was perfectly healthy when I joined the labor service. Now I'm absolutely broken down and my condition is becoming worse after spending a few nights in bomb shelters. . . ."

These are, so to speak, only individual sketches, details of the picture, but they are eloquent proof of the Third Reich's gaping wound—the growing dissatisfaction of the masses with fascism's war economy. The reasons for this dissatisfaction are all the more evident if we take into account the psychological depression caused by constant bombings, devastation and ceaseless alerts.

Goebbels is doing his utmost to make the world believe that the British and Soviet planes are not causing any "essential damage," and in general serve only for "propaganda purposes."

Letters received by German soldiers at the front draw quite a different picture. Not a single letter from western, northwestern and eastern Germany fails to give prominence to air-raids. More than that. Hardly any letters are free of complaints about damage to property and life. All letters reflect the depression which bombings evoke among the population.

"Soviet bombers have already been in Tilsit and have destroyed many buildings. They were also over Skirwieth and Koenigsberg, where the damage done was also great," reads a letter to Lance Corporal Bruno Bendig from Reuterskirch, Eastern Prussia.

A letter to Walter Sturing dated July 2, from his wife, tells of devastation in Brehme: "This morning I wanted to take Werner home but I found it was no easy job. To begin with, Obernstrasse from Schlott to Brull is closed to traffic. What a sight! It seems fantastic that only two were killed and eight injured with all this wreckage about." And, indeed, how can this woman believe the fulsome official communiqués once she saw this devastation herself?

Private Heldemann received a letter from his parents in Grenbaum dated June 12: "Last night the Tommies were over our town again. From 1 till half past 3 we were in shelters. Duisburg is a terrible sight and nobody knows how many have been killed. We do know that there

weren't enough ambulances to evacuate all the wounded and injured. . . ."

Private Karl Mesgens received a letter from his wife, dated June 16, from Reit: "We have alerts every night now. Last night bombs fell very near again and now that there are no guns in the neighborhood the British can throw their bombs wherever they please!"

Private Bernhard, from Elbing, Western Prussia, received a letter from his wife dated June 27. Here is what she writes about the activities of the Soviet aircraft: "On Monday we learned that there were three alerts at Marienburg. On Monday night the Russians got as far as Elbing. . . . There were two alerts here and of course nobody ever thought of going to sleep. It appears that the Russians have done quite a thorough job in Koenigsberg."

One description of an air-raid received in a letter from a friend living in Cologne by Corporal Edward Erwin reads, "On Saturday night I had an experience such as I have never had before. We were in the center of a whole ring of fire . . . the Niegeser railway shops, all railway buildings, the carriage plant and much more!"

One Frau Bogdan, writing from Bielefeld on July 8 to Corporal Konrad Schmitz, describes the bombing of that town: "The Durkop mills got it again, the Dundlach mills are also badly damaged. So are the Langemark barracks. If you were here you would simply faint at the sight of it. Walking through the town is no pleasure. But the main thing is, when will it be over?"

Numberless letters from local inhabitants describe the ghastly devastation throughout Germany, from East Prussia to the Rhine region, from Hamburg to Nuremburg. The effects of air-raids even in such cities as Nuremburg, which evidently suffered less than others, can be seen from a letter sent to Private Willi Oberseiger by Frieda Ruks of Nuremburg. On July 4 she wrote: "Dear Willi, I'm terribly upset because when planes begin to come here more often you begin to learn what war means. They raise a terrific cannonade every night. I'm really scared. I hope they don't come tonight."

Some letters reveal how far the evacuation has gone. Children write about this to their fathers at the front. Little Gertrude Knurt from Kiel writes, for example, on June 22, that all children without exception were evacuated from Kiel.

Alfred Mayer wrote his father on July 3 from Gumbinnen, in Eastern Prussia: "All children have been ordered to leave Gumbinnen because the Russians were here several times and dropped bombs."

Most of the letters from Germany written on the day of Hitler's perfidious attack on the Soviet Union by people of diverse circles of the German population reveal a distinct feeling of alarm. The German people were taken unawares by Hitler. True, by his many years of criminal slander against the Soviet Union, Hitler was preparing the people precisely for a war against the U.S.S.R., although in the first

two years he tried to create the impression that he saved the German people from the horrors and hopelessness of a war on two fronts. However, he had no illusions but that this war would be unpopular, at any rate among those sections whom Goebbels' propaganda had not stunned irrevocably and not deprived completely of the ability to think for themselves. Therefore the attack on the Soviet Union was preceded in Germany by a feverish campaign of propaganda of a Blitzkrieg and a quick and "final victory."

One category of letters shows that their authors were taken in by this adventurous deceit. Thus Karl Emglert of Munich, evidently an out-and-out Nazi, writes his son Walter: "We hope this will be another Blitzkrieg with the least losses to ourselves. Then Germany's *Lebensraum* will increase gigantically and our problem of raw materials and food resources will quickly be solved."

Gertrude Hellmik of Brandenburg in a letter to Private Erich Betther repeats the customary Nazi ravings: "When we finish with the Russians many will be sent home and perhaps you will be among them. Then we'll settle with England and after that there will be peace!"

One Hilda of Frankfurt is also moved to admiration. Writing on June 30 to her sweetheart, a member of the Hitler youth, she says, "Today Lemberg is in German hands. If this goes on then in three weeks you will be through with the Russians. But push harder and all the sooner will you be able to come back home to your Hilda."

But another and a far more numerous category of letters are those which reflect the fear, consternation and depression pervading among the masses. Erna N. from Zweibrucken, Saar, writes her friend Fritz: "Everybody is terribly depressed, for we all hoped that the war would be over this year. But it seems that nothing will come of this hope."

Even more outspoken is one Kathe of Pirmasens in a letter to her brother: "Dear brother. Well, here we are at war with Russia. We feared this and refused to believe it. When we heard this morning's report over the radio we were struck with horror. Everyone is excited. Just think how long we were told exactly the opposite of what happened!" One week later, June 29, she wrote, "There is nothing I can do about it, all I see are wounds and sorrow prevailing in the families which already have suffered from the war."

Irmgard Konzel of Chemnitz writes to Private Heinz Langoff, "Well, Dear Heinz, what do you say about Russia? We were all astonished. Still, we can't say what exactly is taking place. But then, of course, you are soldiers and must remain silent."

A mother writing from Gutersloh to her son: "This morning we heard over the radio the announcement of war against Russia. You can't imagine how grieved we all feel."

Corporal Walter Krameretz received a letter from his wife in Hamburg: "When I turned on the

radio at 6:30 Sunday morning I simply couldn't understand what they were saying about Russia. I was dumbfounded."

Even more frank is the wife of a worker writing her husband on June 25: "Hope that the war would be over soon is again shattered."

Such was the direct reaction to the events of June 22. The first weeks of the war made the moods even more tense. All the letters to the front give vent to fear, horror and tormenting, nervewracking alarm. Goebbels' propaganda is obviously unable to hide from the masses Germany's colossal losses and the fact that the entire Soviet people, grim and relentless in their wrath, have risen to a man against the Nazi hordes. It cannot hide the facts of guerrilla war. Very few letters fail to express this fear of partisan warfare.

Corporal Willi Bernhard received a letter from his mother in Alpenstadt near Neustadt: "I once lived through the experience of losing a dear one. This time too many aren't returning. Here in Alpenstadt we know of two boys about 28 years old who perished at the Eastern Front. And just think how many more there will be."

On July 8 Charlotte Daske from Berlin wrote her husband, N.C.O. Erwin Daske: "What terrible times! Already many of my friends are living through the greatest sorrow that can befall anyone."

Private Rudolph Kluge received a letter from a town in Eastern Prussia dated July 16: "When you open the paper in the morning the first thing you see are endless columns of obituaries, and they are all young men, twenty to twenty-seven. It's heartbreaking and you go on asking yourself why, for what reason must so much blood be shed? And the end is not in sight. . . . We all await one thing, peace, and soon. It's high time. The front is such a huge one now. Lord, have mercy on us!"

Goebbels' radio, for all the noise it makes, is impotent against the rapid spread of news about the endless hospital trains bringing the wounded, and the hospitals throughout Germany filled to overcrowding.

Already by mid-July the people were confronted with the gruesome reality of the Eastern Front. August Bernhard of a town near Saltzberg, Westmark, writes his brother Oswald at the front in a letter dated July 15: "Judging from your letters you have already made good acquaintance with Russia. I can well imagine what it was like. Helen also writes that they have lots of wounded. They set up six hundred beds and today she writes that she can't even describe this terrible calamity."

This somber picture is supplemented by the diary of a high-ranking German officer from Wernigorode. He gives us some idea of the psychological effect which the heavy losses in the German army have even upon his own circle. "July 24—Russians are pressing hard. We are still too far ahead. One of our units had to retire under enemy pressure. July 25—this is some mess! I've lost all track of things. July 26—I'm in a bad mood

because our unit is completely tired out. Everyone asks me how long will all this last. The town is subjected to heavy artillery fire. The Russians have placed their guns very close and are shooting terrifically, and it looks as if everything will be smashed to smithereens. July 31—I heard that malaria broke out in Company 2 of the Sixty-First Tank Regiment. August 5—we went out looting. . . . Corporal Ster was killed, so this completes the list of my best men. War is a selection of the fit, only the other way round. You become so indifferent to things, but you really want to cry. How will all this end? August 13—wherever you go you hear of people killed in action. Consternation everywhere."

It is clear that the idea of a crusade against the U.S.S.R. which would bring nearer the termination of the war is now developing into its antithesis and misgivings and fear are beginning to prevail. The criminal war of depredation against the U.S.S.R. has for the first time caused millions of people in the Third Reich to question why. These masses, doped by the fascists' opium, are beginning, though very slowly, to understand the terrible hopelessness and lack of perspective for the Hitler regime in this war.

Franz Klein, technician from Cologne, declares: "The war against the Soviet Union is something I can't understand; even many officers fail to see its expedience."

This statement is typical of many German soldiers, some of them avowed fascists. "I sympathize with the National-Socialist ideas," says N.C.O. Heinrich Amelung from Grosszaltsan (Central Germany), "But we never expected war against Russia. . . . We lost the first World War because of war with Russia."

Doubts and feelings of alarm were in the minds of the German soldiers before, too. One soldier wrote to Andreas Konne on June 14, that is, the week before the attack on the U.S.S.R. "Yes, my dear friend, the end of the war is just one big question mark. Perhaps it will last another year. For if another enemy is added, and this is not to be precluded, the termination of the war will be postponed for a long, long time. . . ." He continues, "Of course, we can't interfere in this, we are too weak to do that."

Another soldier writing to the same addressee: "Anyway there's nothing to be done about it, just muster your patience and hold your tongue."

Private Rolf, fascist, wrote May 19: "To this day I am profoundly convinced and maintain that we shall not go to war with Russia because Russia is vitally necessary to us for supplies and even a vanquished Russia will give our enemies a very undesirable stimulus."

Sergeant Major Karl Aul, an electrician by trade, of the Fifty-First Bomber Squadron, father of three children: "I fought out of fear. In my opinion there was no need to fight Russia. Many of us hold that opinion and more than one bomber crew was shot for refusing to take to the air."

As the war draws on and as

Hitler's army suffers more losses, Hitler will be compelled to bring greater reserves and replenish his forces by calling older men to the colors. These remember the first World War and are not affected to the same degree by the fascist propaganda as the younger generation. Moreover, these men come, and will come from the German hinterland, overtaxed by poverty, destroyed by bombing, with nerves wracked from extremely intensive work in factories.

From a hospital in Germany (Vieldrungen Spa), wounded corporal Dalewski wrote his Sergeant Major Albert Berkenkuper on July 6: "Yes, Albert, who could have thought that this year Russia's turn would come and with it a long third war of winter? And this campaign is not an express train [train and campaign are denoted by the same German word, *"Zug"—G.F.*]. Again, as in the World War, we are fighting the whole world. That's how much the world 'loves' our Germany."

Marta Ken from Guben asks her husband with ill-concealed fear, "What will happen if America comes in too?"

Doubts as to the outcome of this fascist adventure against the whole world, fear in the face of Germany's isolation, create confusion and disintegration among the followers of the regime. This process proceeds in many directions. First of all mention should be made of the lack of faith in Germany's "allies," who were drawn into the war by force and against their will. This phenomenon is very much the same as Kaiser Germany's attitude toward Austria-Hungary in the last World War.

Letters and diaries of Hitler's supporters are full of bitter remarks about Italy, Hungary, Rumania, Slovakia, etc., who "don't want to keep in step," and therefore question the possibility of a "final victory."

The diary of the high ranking officer from Wernigorode quoted above has the following entry: "We are still sorry about the war with Greece, because the Italians are in general a useless lot. Rommel released the Italians in Africa but they told him that they were war prisoners and now they don't want to do anything else. He had them shot. In Sicily three Italians boarded a plane, took off and disappeared. Two German bombers brought down British planes and then the Italian plane. Whichever way you look at it, Italy is the sick man in this outfit. The position of warfare at Tobruk. The Italians simply left these defenses to their own fate. . . . The Italian home defense was so outrageous that the German air corps had to be dispatched there immediately. Everywhere the Italians are surrendering things and giving us nothing. This explains the indignation of the French. The Italians are only good at collecting corpses. Can it be that the Fuehrer will stand for this?"

On the other hand, we see ever more clearly the selfish interests that keep Hitler's party together. The burden of the worsening economic position, the loss of the feeling of security, even deep in the

German rear, the constantly diminishing material gains from their privileged positions, lead members of Hitler's party to grumble with cynical frankness of the swindle by members of the robber gang.

Here is the wife of S.A. Fuehrer Ernst Sherer from Ludwigshaven, writing to her husband: "When you think of what sacrifices both of us have already had to make no one can say that they were small. Before the war we could only work, economize and devote ourselves to the service of the S.A. and the party. . . . And now, during the war? For eighteen months now you have been away serving in a cold, snow-covered country. . . . And I? As you sit for five or six solid hours in a bomb shelter listening to the firing of AA guns and whistles of bombs falling all around . . . what sort of thoughts enter the head of a thinking [!] person, particularly when, after a three-hour air-raid at half past four in the morning, Franciska calls up to say that, together with her three children, she is stranded on the streets and has lost everything she ever possessed in this world? Well, do you think that this encourages one to have children? Who knows what will be twenty years hence? Perhaps we too will have to tremble in fear for the safety of our sons and sons-in-law? . . ."

A letter from F. Schubert, hosiery manufacturer of Kallenberg, Saxony, to his son Friedrich at the front shows how a confirmed Nazi regards the perspectives of Goebbels' hullabaloo propaganda in the face of endless losses on the Eastern Front. "In general, since June 22, when everything became known, there is a feeling of depression everywhere. Wherever you go you are sure to find one and the same picture, people walking around with heads drooped. . . . Almost every family has someone at the Eastern Front and this depresses people most of all. Reports of victories could, of course, raise our spirits but when we get constant notices of first one then another being killed, low spirits come back. . . ."

In this situation we see a repetition of the mass phenomenon which was observed toward the end of the first World War, namely, Hitler "patriots," in every letter from wives and mothers, are told to take care of themselves, not to be overzealous and to let others win the laurels.

One Maria, wife of a Nazi official serving at the Eastern Front, wrote her husband as early as July 3: "You know, some self-inflicted injury would not be such a bad thing after all. At any rate I would no longer be haunted by the fear that you are killed."

That same hyena Lotta Werner from Sebnitz, whose letter about procuring a fur coat from Russia was quoted earlier in this article, writes to her husband, a die-hard fascist who worked his way to the rank of Sturmfuehrer: "I have but one desire: that you be able to remain in transport service. Don't be eager to butt in and fight, and please don't try to show off your fighting spirit. Just do your duty [evidently by 'organizing' fur coats and suits—*G.F.*], and in general

think about me and your family. . . ."

A mother of one soldier from Breslau puts it all very bluntly: "My dear child, you write that you would like to win the Iron Cross. Be content without a cross, and think only about how, with God's help, to return safe and sound."

In this third winter of war, Hitler demands of the people above all perseverance and readiness to go through more hardships. But the German rear reveals even greater war weariness. Out of several thousand letters hardly a dozen will be found advocating the need to wait patiently for better times. The overwhelming majority of the letters contain one and the same idea expressed in many different ways: "Our only hope is that the war will at last be over soon."

A working woman, Hildegard Almann from Edhof, Bavaria, writes to a soldier at the front: "I want to see this war and labor service brought to an end. I'm fed up with both."

War weariness alone cannot, of course, overthrow the fascist regime. But, side by side with the manifestation of passive weariness, there is an increasing number of cases of conscientious resistance in the form of open desertion of individual soldiers and even single groups to the Red Army. Twenty-five-year-old Paul Sender, an office worker by trade, and a private in the Fourth Infantry Regiment, declared: "I voluntarily went over to the Red Army because I consider this war unjust; back in 1918 the Soviet Union concluded a peace treaty with Germany, declared itself against the Versailles treaty and in subsequent years was neutral and even friendly to Germany. But Germany attacked the Soviet Union. I like my country and by coming over to the Red Army I didn't betray the Fatherland. I acted as an honest man."

Fritz Ludineit of Battery 6, 293rd Regiment, said: "From the very start of the war against the U.S.S.R. I always intended to come over to the Red Army."

"I cannot imagine that our unit will winter here," writes Corporal Vogel to his wife Louisa, in Ettingen, Baden, on July 9 from the Eastern Front.

War weariness and fear of even greater sacrifices and hardships impel the people to independent thinking and make them look for an answer to the question who is to blame. One letter from a peasant woman to her husband at the front shows what answer is given by the common people. Here is what she wrote on June 28, six days after the war broke out, from Klein Auheim: "Many more of us will have to give up our lives. But for what? It is for the sake of a few bits of land that human happiness is being destroyed and all these horrors take place. Whoever is responsible for all this is not worthy of living in this world."

Both the front and rear of the Third Reich were orientated on a speedy victory. A drawn-out war on a gigantic front, long months of privation and want, devastation at home and losses increasing in geo-

metrical progression, all these inexorably lead to the destruction of the political and moral mass basis of the fascist system and, in conjunction with these factors—the disintegration and confusion cited here —create a new factor, *viz.*, open protest, direct resistance, which in the final analysis will make the German people allies of all other peoples in the fight to destroy Hitlerism.

ONLY THE MILITARY ANNIHILATION OF HITLERISM CAN SAVE THE GERMAN YOUTH

BY PETER WIEDEN

WAR requires youth. And a war against mankind requires a youth that shirks no crime against mankind. Hitler has left no stone unturned in order to rear this kind of youth in Germany.

The barbaric tales of ancient German history tell of children who were made to eat the heart of an old wolf in order to acquire savage, wolfish ways. German fascism has converted these tales into a far more gruesome reality. It has inoculated the blood of most of Germany's youth with wolfish ferocity, bestial instincts and the insidiousness of rotting German imperialism.

German mothers bore children which were to grow into men, but Hitler took them away to make wolves of them. Among his numerous misdeeds this systematic envenoming, brutalization and moral corruption of the German youth is perhaps the most vile. He was not content with having oppressed the progressive section of the German people; it was not enough to mutilate their bodies by unparalleled terror. Every means known to his diabolical terror machine was set in motion to check the resurrection of the German people and to sow fascist venality among the German children.

He thus encroached upon the very foundations, the very roots of the German nation, which he hurled back to the stage of barbarity.

Germany as a nation contributed in no small share to the progress of humankind. German philosophy, German humanism, German art and science are inseparable from the general forward march of history. And the world is all the more profoundly shocked to see that hundreds and thousands of young Germans, fighting with the Hitler troops, reflect not the character of the great nation but the typical traits of the *landsknechts*, of the fascist gangster mob. They fight with the reasonless ferocity of wild beasts attacking prey. With cold-blooded indifference, with the blood-lust of cannibals, they murder women, children and the defenseless wounded.

Many of them cannot see the shame of their misdeeds. Nor do they feel any disgust when torturing the prisoners, cutting their bodies with knives, soaking them with kerosene and burning them alive. And when asked what they

are fighting for, why they attack other nations, which have done them no harm, why they allow themselves to be used as executioners and murderers, they reply, with the monotony of an automaton: We were ordered by the Fuehrer, we don't think, the Fuehrer thinks for us.

These stereotyped answers bring to light the repugnant discipline that keeps the robber band together and the slavish obedience of the horde which is ordered not to think. Once the chieftain gives orders there is no need to think, nor any need to worry about scruples. They rejoice when they see their bombs cause fires. They march obediently in an unknown direction, shoot down everyone they meet, stand at attention and are always punctual. This is the combination of the wolf and the machine, primitive instinct, but motorized.

The diaries and letters of the 18 and 20-year-old German fliers reveal the savagery and mental impoverishment of the Hitler generation. Many of them shock one by the plaguish breath of hopeless cynicism and bottomless corruption.

Here are entries from the diary of Lieutenant Schultz, a German flier whose plane was brought down in Spain in 1937: "January 30. Spree with Schlosser. Officer on duty Ruchi. Schlosser and I went to a brothel. . . . March 31. Air raid on Biscay at 9:45 A.M. Flying over front. At 11:45 another raid on the same corson. Had a good meal in the evening and then a fine sleep. . . . April 3. Arrived Saint Sebastian. Bit of an air raid, then donned civilian clothes, boarded a taxi and made for the nearest brothel. Devilish women, but had a good time all the same."

A characteristic feature, the inalienable trait of genuine youth, is the aspiration to progressive thought, the desire to side with the oppressed and bear aloft the standard of human dignity. Hitler has no use for such youth. At all costs he had to paralyze the minds of the youth, convert its heart into a motor and replace its ideals by drugs.

With cool calculation, he reduced the existence of the German youth to a mere biological fact. Physical strength and spiritual bankruptcy, strong muscles and no thinking capacity, love for fist fights and fear to take an independent stand on the questions of life, bullying cruelty and moral corruption—such are the qualities trained in the Hitler youth.

Blind readiness to kill and kill with sadistic joy, but no courage to look the truth in the face, to raise one's voice in protest against evil, to march out of step and give up howling like wolves—this is how the Hitler youth goes to war. Ideals have been replaced by fanatic monstrosities, individuality by the Fuehrer cult and race superiority complex, love for freedom by doglike submissiveness.

This spiritual and moral crippling is a distinguishing and typical feature of the fascist youth, whom Hitler uses for his criminal war against mankind.

What made possible such deep-rooted corruption of the wide masses of the German youth?

German fascism went about this work with unexampled thoroughness. It began by making small children its victims; it inculcated its poison in the child's soul. The family was completely excluded from any participation in educating the children, who were turned over to the Hitler Jugend wolf-pack. The fascists incessantly hammered home to the children that the German people are the most powerful, clever, magnificent of all nations. Every German boy was given to understand that by virtue of his birthright he was part of a nation which was far superior to all others. The whole world impatiently waits to be placed under the German yoke. The Frenchmen are slaves; Mongols, not to mention Negroes and Jews, are not even real human beings. They are animals, half-humans who must be ruled by the whip. Such were the thoughts instilled in the child's mind day in and day out.

Conversation with German children grown up under the Hitler domination can never be forgotten. These children are neither void of talent nor spoiled, and all the more horrible is their childish prattle about the world, the conception of which they receive in the schools and Hitler youth organizations. They are firmly convinced that the Germans invented fire and iron, that they forged the first plow and the first sword, that the weaving loom, the locomotive, the telephone are all German inventions. They said that all great men were in fact Germans and that other nations simply stole their inventions from the Germans.

They were taught that the Russians are cannibals and must be annihilated. The impression one gets is that these youngsters were brought up in an insane asylum and to them a superiority complex and a persecution complex are only the natural state of the human being.

And it is not only this rabid madness that the German children are taught. They see the world in such a distorted and unreal light as no person outside Germany can imagine.

Frenzied bestial chauvinism is quite natural to Germany's young generation. The Hitler youth leaders transform this chauvinism into a predatory desire to attack foreign nations and rob them of their last. At every step the German youth sees robbery and depredation. For by what other means have the Storm Trooper chiefs, who serve as a model for the Hitler youth, obtained their luxurious villas, motor cars and jewels?

They simply drove out or put to death the "half-humans" and took possession of their property and *lebensraum*. This is held up as an example; loot and plunder the "half-humans" and may the German sword reap what the others have sown! Such is the gangster moral raised to the level of a world outlook.

Here is one example out of thousands. On January 30, 1940, the professional gangster Robert Ley lectured to the German youth:

"A lower race requires less territory, less clothes, less food and less

culture than a higher race. The German cannot exist under the same conditions as the Pole. . . . This war must and will create material and ideological requisites so that in the future the German people may for centuries enjoy the conditions rightly belonging to it by virtue of its race and blood."

The Hitler youth song runs: "To day Germany belongs to us, tomorrow the whole world will be ours."

The youth are given the most vivid and enticing picture of the material gains it will enjoy after the world is conquered: you will go to foreign countries as masters and take everything you like, and if the "half-human" dares to resist, why, just crush his skull!

This "romance" of adventurism has found fertile soil in the base, predatory instincts cultivated in the youth. In the foreign countries they regard themselves as "supermen" and their chests swell not only with adolescent vanity but from pockets stuffed with stolen money and other "souvenirs" of the robber campaigns.

This "new order" of Europe is modeled on the campaigns of Attila and Genghis Khan and is in strict accordance with the "Fuehrer principle"; in loot, torture or violence, everywhere the first place goes to the "Fuehrers," for there must be order in everything and a non-commissioned officer dare not lay hands on the booty or take blood before a lieutenant.

This inculcation of animal chauvinism and the doctrine of unrestrained robbery proceeds hand in hand with the systematic incitement of all the worst sadist instincts.

With diabolic dexterity, the Nazis singled out those pathological youngsters who take pleasure in torturing frogs and cats. To satisfy their abnormal sadist instincts, they are given full sway over defenseless men and women. The German concentration camps have 16-year-old assistant wardens who, amidst frantic shouts of approval from their superiors, subject defenseless prisoners to the most refined torture. The young men are induced to take part in pogroms, in murders and violence against women and children, they help bring war prisoners to a painful death.

At first very many of them were horror-struck at this boundless brutality; from time to time a young officer assigned to participate in these nightmarish massacres would commit suicide and the soldiers would at times themselves attack the cowardly murderers.

But hundreds of thousands maintained a shameful silence and resigned themselves to the fact that Hitler was converting Europe into a hellish torture cell. Hundreds of thousands of Germany's youth look up to a handful of sadists as the select, superior caste. The wholesome instincts of this mass have been crippled and silenced by the chauvinist superiority complex, the notorious corporation spirit of the Nazi robber band and by the slavish humiliating submission to the almighty Fuehrers.

The ringleaders of this youth are trained in the so-called *"Ordens-*

burgen," where everything is linked up with the middle ages, with the traditions of the Teutonic order besmirched by filth and blood. They are taught the ways of the *"Hundritter,"* who considered the extermination and spoliation of the Slavonic tribes of eastern Germany their mission and who received a good taste of the Slavonic *muzhik* strength at Lake Chud.

The German baronial castles in the middle ages were hotbeds of organized plunder, centers for rapacious raids on the east attended by the usual mystical ravings.

The present Hitler Jugend *"Ordensburgen"* are hotbeds of schools of the most cynical type of plunder and of the lowest brand of mysticism.

The young men who have particularly distinguished themselves in cringing to the Fuehrer band, in chauvinist brutality and in unrestrained manifestation of the superrace traits, are trained here to become leaders of Germany's youth. Their ideal is that of the "blond beast" which Friedrich Nietzsche, philosopher of German imperialism, lauded with such morbid enthusiasm.

The fascist race theory has been made the official science of the land. In essence it boils down to the assertion that the Germans are free to do anything, for they are the world's miracles and universal criterion.

"Nordic cunning" is regarded as the apex of political art. It consists in elevating lies, perfidy, deceit and dishonor—all the traits of the German Fuehrers—to the level of a lofty virtue. Morality is only relative, these teachers of the youth maintain: every piece of trickery by the "noble race" is described as "cunning" while every liberation struggle, every act of resistance to German "supermen," is denounced as a crime before world history. You are German and therefore it is your duty, your obligation, to impose the German yoke upon other nations by every conceivable act of murder, terror and treachery; the whole meaning of your life is to be a slave in your own country, but a master in other countries. A slave yourself, you must make slaves of others; a nonentity in the face of your superiors, you are a god to your subordinates.

This system of subordination, this hierarchy of inhuman henchmen among whom the most humble, the least paid and most downtrodden feels himself superior to his victim—this foul prison system is covered by a haze of weird mysticism. The world cannot understand us! is the mysterious voice emanating from the *Ordensburgen.* The world is doped by thoughts but we value only the voice of blood. Never will other nations understand the myth of our blood. Nor can we hope to convince them. Hence, all that remains is either to annihilate them or to impose our order on them by force. A yawning gap separates us from humanity; it is the dividing line between one blood and another. This gap we shall fill in with corpses and humanity will cease to exist. Germany will be the world.

German industry supplied the tanks and aircraft, the Hitler Jugend provided the manpower.

The 18 and 20-year-old German thugs who man these war machines feel themselves the gods of death and destruction. They were harnessed into the Hitler war machine and are part of it. The murder of as many people as possible is not only a sport to them, or an intoxication, or lust for brutality. The German fliers hunt after women and children; time and again they fly at a low level in order to kill a lone child on a rural road. In their death machines these disciples of the Hitler *Jugend* have flown over half of Europe and consider themselves invincible, for their victories over the ill-armed armies of the small nations and over the states betrayed by their rulers were indeed achieved cheaply. At the end they were convinced that the German army could trample under foot the whole of the world unhindered and that for Hitler Germany war was but a barbarian feast, organized murder of the "half-human natives."

To them, the German war machine was a god embodied in a steel monster. They fell on their knees before this idol, made a human blood stream to it and were firmly convinced that they too were part of this godly monster. No one must under-rate the depth of depravity into which fascism has sunk the German youth. It is not a matter of a superficial coat of brown paint but an ulcer which has taken deep root in the youth of Hitler Germany. Numberless young men have been thrown out of their way and crippled morally. It will require colossal upheavals for this youth to regain the ability to think for itself, to liberate it from the fetters of frantic chauvinism, race mysticism, superiority complex, political blindness and moral disintegration. The re-education of this youth can proceed only under the heavy blows of defeats at the front, under the blows of the Red Army.

There is only one argument capable of enlightening this youth — the argument of the Soviet Union's superior forces. In the minds of the Hitler youth the whole world is built up on lies and madness, and the collapse and ruin of this world will make the truth penetrate their heads. This will be the great awakening; the German youth will realize that the "invincibility" of Hitler's armies was a figment of morbid imagination, that the promise to conquer the world was the dream of a drug addict and that the lie about the German "supermen" was but self-deceit.

Hitler Germany's defeat will bring this youth back to reality.

The first sobering lesson for this youth will be that other nations are at any rate not inferior to the German nation in origin, innate ability, technical and military knowledge and that at the present they have far surpassed Germany in political maturity, intellectual development and moral steadfastness.

Hitler has retarded the development of the German nation and thrown it back many years. He has brought upon Germany not only poverty and war but shame, hatred and abhorrence. He has separated

Germany from the whole of humanity by a bottomless pit and to bridge this pit is primarily the mission of the German people.

All nations will extend a helping hand to the Germans when they rise to overthrow Hitler.

But as long as the German youth continues to fight for Hitler Germany, the peoples will reply by severe devastating blows. The German youth has been misled to the road of corruption by the cruel, cynical gang of cannibals.

Today the Red Army is giving the German youth a grim and much needed lesson. Nor is there any salvation for this youth other than this inexorable lesson, which they feel on their own skins. Only the military defeat and political collapse of Hitler Germany can open up to the German youth the road to life.

HITLER'S WAR AND SPAIN

BY JESUS HERNANDEZ

IT IS now clear to all that Germany and Italy incited war in Spain in July, 1936, for the sake of their own rabid plans for world domination. Franco and his confederates, who drenched the soil of Spain in blood, were but tools in the hands of the fascist powers. These powers were striving for stable bases in the Pyranees. Von Reichenau told a gathering of Nazi Party leaders in July, 1938: "We have gained a foothold on strategically vital French and English communications and this represents the supreme significance of our intervention in Spain."

With the close of the civil war engineered by Franco, Spain found herself dominated by German and Italian fascism. Even leaders of the Falangists made no secret of the fact that one of the distinguishing features of the "New Great Spain" would be her subordination to the Axis powers. The "Spanish State," wrote *Correo de Bilbao* at the close of the war, "must contemplate the world through the eyes of Germany and Italy."

Constantly supporting Franco's dream of "imperial rights" for Spain, the Germans and Italians placed most of the Falanga leaders under their influence. On orders from Hitler and Mussolini, these Spanish "patriots" erected roads, airfields and strategic railways while Spain was left to perish of hunger. They built up a war apparatus. And millions of pesetas which could well be used to purchase food for the people were spent on military expenditure.

When the war broke out in Europe in 1939, Spain wavered between "neutrality" and "non-belligerency." She occupied Tangiers and seized its grain stocks, which she forthwith placed at the disposal of her Teuton masters. She began to export tremendous quantities of ore to feed Hitler's war industry. Having made Spain "non-belligerent," Serrano Suner's Falangists, who more than anyone else cringed to German fascism, devoted all their efforts to preparing the ground for drawing Spain into war on Germany's side. The course of the war in Europe facilitated this double game of Germany's and Italy's Spanish puppets.

After June 22, 1941, when Hitler's hordes perfidiously and criminally attacked the Soviet Union, this band of servitors, headed by Foreign Minister Serrano Suner, cast off all restraint and worked with greatest energy to bring Spain into the war as one of the pawns in the Nazis' monstrous game. With

this aim in view they made every use of their official positions in the state apparatus and in the country's political life. These Spanish Quislings, taking their cue from Goebbels, and trying by every means to support Hitler's war, made a frail and by no means clever attempt to influence Latin American countries by pathetic appeals for a "crusade against Bolshevism." This stupid attempt has only resulted in public opinion in Costa Rica demanding the severance of diplomatic relations with Spain; in Colombia the Foreign Minister didn't allow the Spanish Government's note to be published; Chilean and Argentine newspapers insisted on banning a series of lectures by José em Pempana, Falangist leader; in Uruguay, Ecuador and Cuba, as well as in other Latin American countries, Suner's attempts were ridiculed.

These same Spanish servitors of Hitler tried to recruit a "volunteer" Spanish division for the criminal and rapacious war on the Eastern Front. But this attempt, too, failed and in order to hide its failure the Falangists simply put down regular army units as Volunteers.

The newspaper *Microphone,* published in Malaga, was constrained to admit in its issue of September 6 that "picked forces of our army" had been dispatched to Germany. Hitler's Spanish agents are using the radio, the press and the platform to instill pro-German sentiment in the people. "Spain's historic hour has struck," they scream. They would have us believe that by joining the "Great Crusade Against Communism," Spain will win Gibraltar (apparently from . . . Communists), French Morocco, Algiers, Portugal, Latin America and even the Philippines, which will once more become the "Pearl of the Spanish Imperial Crown." They are anxious to hide from the masses what is in store for Spain when Hitler demands new reinforcements for his armies at the Eastern Front.

Hitler hoped to isolate the Soviet Union by setting up a "world coalition" of Quislings who would make their nations fight his robber war. But reality has upset his plans. Events have taken the course indicated by Stalin in his historic speech of July 3.

"Our war for the freedom of our country," said Stalin, "will merge with the struggle of the peoples of Europe and America for their independence, for democratic liberty.

"It will be a united front of peoples standing for freedom and against enslavement and threats of enslavement by Hitler's fascist armies." *

These prophetic words are being translated into realities. And the German monster has no choice but to whip all his running dogs in Europe into action. His Spanish lackeys, however, find it more and more difficult to comply with his categorical demands for assistance. The operation of Hitler's plans in Spain is hampered not only by the people's undying hatred for the reign of terror introduced by the Falangist rulers. Spanish Suners come up against opposition in the Falanga

* Joseph Stalin, *Victory Will Be Ours,* Workers Library Publishers, p. 14.

itself, for many Falangists are open supporters of Britain and the U.S.A. These differences in the government circles, and primarily between the Falangists headed by Serrano Suner and the Monarchists and Requetist groups, are becoming more acute.

The *New York Times* Berne correspondent reported on August 29 the arrest of Gamaro del Castillo, ex-assistant secretary of the Spanish Falanga, and other German supporters on the charge of plotting the murder of Franco. The conspirators supported Serrano Suner. In this case it isn't a matter of Franco being the enemy of Germany. Far from it; Franco knows only too well that he owes his rule to German and Italian bayonets. He is a zealous supporter of fascist victory, but his policy is marked by wavering and doubts, particularly on the question of choosing the most opportune moment to thrust Spain into this catastrophe. At the same time Franco's position reflects to a certain degree the moods of that increasing group among the leading circles of the country which isn't too sure that Hitler's monstrous adventure will end well.

Besides, there is a definite group among the bourgeoisie in Spain which sees that it stands to gain much more by make-believe "neutrality" than by direct participation in the war. It is they who are resisting German pressure. Finally, Franco's position is influenced in no small degree by the consideration that Spain's officer corps shows no particular desire to fight under the command of insolent Prussian barons. For its part, the Serrano Suner group is making desperate efforts to win over the army, which in present-day Spain represents the basic support of the regime. The political group which succeeds in swaying the army to its side would undoubtedly provide its own solution to Spain's foreign policy question. There is nothing stable or definite in the position of Spain today. Both in home and foreign policy, changes in one or another direction—and drastic changes—may occur.

Meanwhile Franco is playing for time, shielding his stand by the slogan of "moral war on the side of the Axis." This wavering position irritates Suner's followers, who are egged on by Hitler and Mussolini. The Spanish fascists are hardly satisfied with the sacrifices made by their country in the war which they engineered in 1936. They are not content with the devastation of Spanish cities and villages, with hunger that exhausts most of the workers, peasants and office workers, with the ruination of thousands of small and middle business men and merchants. Little are they concerned about the fact that Madrid, Spain's beautiful capital, is now notorious as "a city of beggars," and that endless streams of children, women and old men, dressed in filthy rags and living on what they can beg, roam its streets.

They are unmoved by the fact that there are 554,000 unemployed in the country, as the magazine *Economia Mondial* reported in its April issue. They are equally unconcerned by the fact, which was reported in a well-documented ar-

ticle by the Spanish correspondent of *PM*, that from August to December, 1940, in Andalusia alone up to 30,000 children between the ages of three and fourteen died from tuberculosis. What does all this mean when compared to the "great task" of complying with the wishes of the German cannibals? What other aim can attract the Spanish Quislings?

This explains why Hitler's Spanish servitors fulfill his insolent demands with utmost obedience. German fascists deprive hungry people of their bread and butter, of everything that the Spanish peasant produces by back-breaking toil.

Special tribunals have been set up and torture and death sentences are being applied liberally to stem the protest of the Spanish people against this treacherous policy. Languishing in Spanish prisons are 2,000,000 patriots who are dying a slow death knowing that every morning may be their last morning. Two and a half years after the suppression of the popular national liberation struggle, the reign of terror in Spain is maintained with the same savagery and brutality as in the first days following the war. Recent issues of Falangist papers abound with reports that "five Republicans sentenced to death by the military tribunal in Navahermosa have been executed," or that in Madrid "several Reds were shot," or that the Public Prosecutor of Madrid's Military Tribunal has demanded the death sentence for four persons accused of "perpetrating a clash with the police in the streets," or that in Barcelona the Military Prosecutor insisted on a death sentence for four veterans of the Republican Army, etc. But the Spanish people are not taking all this lying down. Cases of open hostility to this reign of blood and terror are becoming ever more frequent.

No sooner had Hitler launched his criminal war on the Soviet Union then sabotage on the railways became more intensive. In Seville a powder magazine and armaments depot were blown up. A large fire broke out at the artillery works in Trubia (Asturias). Partisan warfare has grown to such dimensions that the commanding officer of the Second District (Andalusia) issued on July 23 an order which announces that "anyone guilty of armed attack on army or public officials, or anyone failing to report such acts to the authorities, or helping evildoers escape justice, will be punished by death."

Peasant resistance to the Franco regime is also becoming stronger. More often do we hear of peasants hiding their meager stocks of food. On August 12 the headquarters of the National Grain Delivery Service issued the following circular: "In view of the existence of a large number of illegal flour warehouses, all flour mills will henceforth be placed under control, and all flour not registered with the authorities will be requisitioned."

The "V" campaign, so widespread in Europe, has found extensive response in Spain. Despite the savage and bloody reprisals by the authorities, the Spanish people have unanimously begun to conduct a tacit but imposing anti-Nazi plebiscite. In towns and villages, walls, fences,

cafes, tables, school blackboards, and even the houses of Hitler agents are marked with the letter "V," the emblem of the undying hatred of Spain for her fascist enslavers.

Solidarity with the Soviet Union has much deeper roots in Spain than in other countries. The Spanish people remember that at the decisive moment of their recent history they always enjoyed the active support of the Soviet people. And today, when the Red Army is bearing the brunt of the battle against Hitler fascism, the Spaniards find diverse forms of manifesting their unswerving friendship with the Soviet Union. This explains, incidentally, the complete fiasco of the Falanga's anti-Soviet campaign. Even *Pueblo,* Falangist "trade union" organ, is forced to admit that for instance in Guadalajara the authorities were compelled to take measures in view of the "absence of patriotic feeling during the manifestations against Russia." "They see us but pay no attention, we address them but they refuse to hear us," wrote the newspaper *Microphone* on August 29, "but we shall go on without anyone's help. We shall find forces to send our best comrades to the Blue Division."

Italian propaganda is making a desperate attempt to save the situation. It appeals directly to fascists. On August 20 Rome appealed to the Falangists: "Complacency in this struggle for civilization would reduce to nothing bloodshed for God and Spain. More than ever before we must understand this struggle against the Soviets."

One need not possess a very penetrating mind to detect in tone and intention of this Rome broadcast a desire to bring pressure to bear upon "complacent" Falangists who fail to "understand" the struggle against the Soviet Union. The Rome radio knows perfectly well that among the Spanish people there still burns an unquenchable fire of hatred for the Italian and German fascists. That's why this message is addressed to those who hitherto always followed Franco and Serrano Suner. But even in these circles there is a growing discontent with the policy pursued by the Hitler agents.

At one time, many of these people naively believed that Franco and Serrano Suner are capable of pursuing their promised policy of "resurrection and aggrandizement." Now they are beginning to see what fatal repercussions this national betrayal by their rulers has had. This policy of Nazi betrayal and of drawing Spain into the war for a cause which the Spanish people hate is being pursued by the Franco-Suner clique with unexampled cynicism. German engineers and flyers are busy in the south of Spain, in areas adjacent to Gibraltar, where they are building airdromes, fortifications and gun positions. *American News Week* of August 15 reports that at Irun, in Northern Spain, Germans are constructing a new bridge across the Bidasoa River on the Franco-Spanish border, repairing the Irun-Saint Sebastian Road, and are supervising the construction of air bases in Seville.

Of late, the foreign press has pub-

lished reports of large Spanish troop concentrations in Tangier, Spanish Morocco and at the Portuguese frontier. It is an open secret that two German ships, the *Arctic* and the *Nord Atlantic,* are in Vigo Bay, where they take on oil, coal and food which in the quiet of night they deliver to Hitler's pirate submarines. On the Canary Islands and at La Palma, according to the correspondent of the *New York Times,* fortifications are being hastily erected under German supervision. Meanwhile Spain is literally swarming with German "tourists," "specialists," "technicians" and "advisers." Steadily but surely they are taking over control of Spain's industries, transport, seaports and strategic points on the peninsula. They have come to Spain as rulers. German penetration became particularly intensified after an agreement on an exchange of workers between Germany and Spain was concluded. This "agreement," which came into force on August 15, opens up Spain to all Nazi agents. It provides for the dispatch of 700,000 Spanish industrial workers to be used as slaves on the most difficult jobs in Hitler Germany.

Not only the Communists, Socialists, Republicans and members of the General and National Confederations of Labor are rising against the Franco regime. The anti-Spanish policy pursued by the Falangists impels people of different outlooks, people who hitherto held aloof from the masses, to work for one and the same aim: to avert the catastrophe toward which the pro-German Falangist clique is heading the country. Expressing the moods of the masses, the Communist Party of Spain has called upon all Spanish patriots, regardless of political views and convictions, to unite in a struggle against the German and Italian fascist enslavers, and their Spanish agents.

"The great mission which the world situation and particularly the situation in Spain imposes upon the Spanish people and its parties and organizations," declares this appeal, "compels us to disregard all secondary and unimportant views which block the road to liberation of millions of Spaniards who are anxious to see the regime of Franco and Serrano Suner crushed. . . . The world-wide struggle waged by the forces of democracy, progress and liberty, headed by the U.S.S.R. and its glorious Red Army, Air Force and Fleet, and England, is the struggle for the final annihilation of Hitler's cutthroats and executioners, for the destruction of German fascism. It requires that all devoted Spaniards, friends and champions of our independence, raise aloft the banner of independent and free Spain, that they do not allow the Franco clique to plunge Spain into the war against the U.S.S.R. and Britain."

This unity for which the Communist Party appeals will provide ample scope for all honest Spaniards. What will be the Spain of tomorrow is a question which only the sovereign will of the Spanish people can answer. At present the decisive factor is unity of all Spaniards in a struggle against the involvement of the Spanish people in Hitler's murderous war, and to rescue Spain and humanity from the Brown Plague.

JEAN CATELAS, HERO AND MARTYR OF FRANCE

ON SEPTEMBER 22 the special Tribunal of Paris pronounced the death sentence on the courageous fighter for the cause of progress and freedom, that ardent French patriot, Jean Catelas. Four days later, on September 26, Jean Catelas was guillotined in the courtyard of the Santé Prison. Two other daring patriots were executed along with him.

Jean Catelas spent 1914-1918 at the front as an infantryman. He was awarded the Cross of Valor in battle and was five times mentioned in dispatches. A railwayman by trade, in 1922 Jean Catelas was elected Secretary of the Railwaymen's Union in Amiens. His devotion to the workers' cause won him the exceptional love and esteem of all his comrades.

A charter member of the French Communist Party, Jean Catelas headed the party organization in Amiens and later in Picardy. Under his leadership a political and ideological struggle was conducted in Picardy—for a long time under Anarchist influence—for building up a strong Communist organization, for strengthening the influence of the teachings of Lenin and Stalin in the working class. Thanks to Jean Catelas, the Picardy party organization became one of the most consistent and strongest party organizations.

In 1937 the Congress of the Communist Party of France elected Jean Catelas to the Central Committee. The working people of Amiens elected him as their Deputy to the French Parliament. In Parliament Jean Catelas devoted all his strength to championing the people's demands, to the struggle against fascism and reaction, organizing the forces of the working class and democracy. He was an example of a working class deputy.

Jean Catelas always fought for the genuine national interests of the French people. He exposed the criminal "non-intervention" which strangled the Spanish Republic and endangered France's security. He exposed the shameful capitulation of the French rulers in Munich, the capitulation which opened the way for Hitler's aggression against France. He exposed the disgraceful treachery of Bonnet, the apprentice to Hitler and the spy Abetz. He was an unwavering fighter against Hitler fascism and its French agents. He was for the national independence, honor and dignity of France.

In May, 1940, Amiens, a big city with 100,000 inhabitants, was for the second time in the last twenty-five years invaded by the German hordes and half razed to the ground. When the enemy approached the city, Amiens' civil and military

authorities fled, abandoning the population to their fate. But Jean Catelas remained with his electors. He remained at his post, organizing the food supply, relief to the sufferers and restoration of the ruined houses. Compelled to live in illegality, Jean Catelas became the moving spirit of resistance of the whole population in Amiens to the Hitler invaders and their base agents. His open letters to the railwaymen and inhabitants of Amiens met with a fervent response. Every working man, every patriot of Amiens felt that Jean Catelas was with him and this gave him courage, strengthened his faith in the final victory over Hitler fascism, his confidence in France's liberation.

Jean Catelas was arrested in April, 1941. The executioners kept him secretly in prison for five months. Just as secretly they placed him on trial before the Special Tribunal, instituted some weeks ago on Hitler's demand for the annihilation of French patriots. The most disgraceful feature of this murder of a true son and hero of the French people is that it was committed by Judges who call themselves Frenchmen.

Jean Catelas, glorious defender of Verdun, was sent to the guillotine on the special order of the traitor Pétain, who already in 1916 was ready time and again to surrender Verdun. Several weeks ago this sinister old man, capitulator and traitor Pétain, declared: "We have fallen very low!" Indeed! The traitor Pétain has fallen low but he will not succeed in dragging France down with him. The rulers of France branded themselves with everlasting shame.

Hitler found in France base, low traitors who, on his orders, are murdering Frenchmen. Hitler is aware of the true sentiments of the French people. He is aware of the furious hatred for him in France. He sees the powerful national liberation movement growing and spreading. He feels how the soil of France is burning under his feet. Hitler wants to intimidate the French people, to drown the Frenchmen's national liberation struggle in blood. Time and again Hitler proclaimed his intention of destroying France, of annihilating Frenchmen, regardless of whether they were ruled by "Bourbons or Jacobins, Napoleons or bourgeois-democrats, clerical republicans or Red Bolsheviks."

And France's mortal enemy found a French Marshal with whose hands to perpetrate the black crime of destroying and annihilating the French people. In mid-August thousands of Frenchmen were arrested and kept as hostages. Among them also was the beloved leader of the French working people, Marcel Cachin. Two hundred and ninety-five French patriots were placed before the bullets of Hitler's punitive expeditions, thrown under the guillotine knife in one month alone. This is the real symbol of "collaboration," which in reality means nothing but slavery and death for all Frenchmen. In vain are Hitler and Pétain resorting to terror in the attempt to curb the movement for national liberation in France. The blood of the martyrs

cries out for revenge. The blood of Catelas and his valiant comrades calls on thousands of dauntless patriots to battle.

The struggle is only beginning. Inspired by the heroic resistance of the Red Army to the fascist hordes, confident in the support of the great anti-Hitler coalition of the democracies, the French people will not bend their heads, will not retreat. They will fight to the finish, to victory, until the goal set by themselves, by Jean Catelas—to make France free, strong, happy—is achieved.